



*A handbook
of Greek sculpture*

Ernest Arthur Gardner

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**Handbooks of
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**A HANDBOOK
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE**



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OF
GREEK SCULPTURE

BY

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PREFACE

IN addition to the authorities quoted in the preface issued with the first part of this handbook, one other calls for especial notice here. This, it need hardly be said, is Professor Furtwängler's *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*, or, in its English version by Miss Eugénie Sellers, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*. I had occasion to quote this work more than once in Part I.; but, from the nature of the subject, it has been far more frequently in my hands while I was writing Part II., and I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Furtwängler's wonderful knowledge and observation in many instances where I have not felt able to embody his conclusions in the text of a handbook for students.

In dealing with the later portion of the history of sculpture, I have endeavoured to follow the same principles as in the earlier portion, and consequently I am again precluded from the discussion of many interesting problems as to which I do not feel justified in expressing a dogmatic opinion, while I have not space to give, even in summary, the arguments on each side.

I regret that I am unable to fulfil my conditional promise of an appendix on the discoveries of the French excavators at Delphi, no official publication having as yet been issued.

It is only fair both to M. Collignon and to myself to state

that I had not the advantage of seeing the second volume of his *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* before the proof-sheets of this volume were out of my hands.

Arrangements have been made by the Teachers' Guild for placing at the disposal of its members a series of lantern-slides to illustrate the history of sculpture; these slides have been prepared from the material that has been used for the illustrations of this handbook, and they are numbered to correspond. They may be seen at the Educational Museum of the Guild, 74 Gower Street, London, W.C., where inquiries may be addressed to the Hon. Curators.

The present volume contains a full index, compiled by Mrs. Ernest Gardner, to both parts of the handbook.

My brother, Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford, has again read the proof-sheets, and I have to thank him for many valuable corrections and suggestions.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
November 1896.

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NOTE

Since I have not accepted, as conclusively proved, Professor Furtwängler's identification of the Lemnian Athena by Phidias, I regret the more that I have, in my desire for brevity, made a slightly incorrect statement of the evidence on which the identification is based. On page 265 I stated that the head of the Athena at Dresden "is made in a separate piece, and the Bologna head exactly fits the socket." The Bologna head fits the socket not of the complete Athena at Dresden, but of a headless duplicate of the same statue, also at Dresden. My scepticism as to the identification of the statue as the Lemnian Athena of Phidias has met with some criticism both here and in Germany; but if it leads my readers to weigh the evidence more carefully for themselves, my purpose will be attained, even though they may differ from me in their conclusion.

CHAPTER III—(continued)

THE FIFTH CENTURY—480-400 B.C.—(continued)

§ 35. *Sculpture of the Parthenon.*—It probably would not have occurred to any Greek to quote the sculptures of the Parthenon among the finest examples of the art of his country, still less to point to them as preserving the worthiest record of the genius of Phidias. While such works as the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus were still extant, mere architectural sculptures, however perfect their execution, and however eminent the master to whom they owed their design, could only occupy a secondary position. But now that the great statues from the master's own hand, of which every Greek thought when he mentioned the name of Phidias, are either entirely lost to us, or only preserved in copies that can convey but a poor and inadequate notion of the originals, sculptures like those of the Parthenon have acquired for us a value which they did not possess in classical times. Mutilated and fragmentary as they are, they yet preserve for us the direct impress of the master's genius, if not the touch of his hand. They are no late copies, contaminating the character of the highest period of Greek sculpture with many features belonging to later times, but were made under the direct supervision of the designer, although their execution may in some cases show the sign of other handiwork; and we may be confident that any peculiarities which we may notice in them are due, if not to the master himself, at least to the group of pupils and craftsmen who lived under his influence and formed his immediate surrounding.

It may be questioned how far we are justified in claiming for the sculpture of the Parthenon so direct a relation to Phidias himself. We shall see that there are, in different parts of this

sculpture, especially the metopes and some portions of the frieze, not only inequalities of execution, but actual differences of style and design, such as imply a considerable amount of freedom in the work of the various individual sculptors employed. But, on the other hand, there is a character about the whole sculpture, and especially about the more conspicuous parts of it—such as the pediments—which has impressed all artists and critics as differing essentially from everything else which we possess, and as worthy of attribution to the greatest of all sculptors. We are informed that Phidias was entrusted with the general supervision of the wonderful artistic activity which marked the supremacy of Pericles in the Athenian state. The crowning work of all was the Parthenon. There can be no doubt that it was intended not only as the worthy shrine of Athena in the midst of her chosen city, but also as the monument that summed up and contained in itself all the glory of Athens, and all the beauty, moderation, and wisdom of life of her people. The gold and ivory statue within the temple was made by Phidias himself. It is hardly conceivable that he should have left entirely to others the design of the sculptures which decorated the building, for they were clearly part of one harmonious whole, intended to prepare the mind of the spectator, and to lead up to the final contemplation of the perfect embodiment of the goddess herself.¹ Doubtless the great size and number of the sculptural figures which decorated every available space upon the temple precluded the possibility of their execution by a single hand, especially when we remember that the whole building was ready for dedication within eight years from its commencement. Some portions of the work, especially the separate metopes, may have been left to the sculptors who undertook them, after some general conditions as to subject and treatment had been laid down by the designer of the whole. But the great and harmonious designs of the eastern and western pediments, and the continuous composition of the frieze, must have been, in all essential features, the creation of a single artist; and we can hardly imagine this artist to have been any other than Phidias himself.

¹ We need not be shaken in this opinion by the analogy of Olympia. Phidias did not go there until the sculptural decoration of the temple was completed; and although he and his associates designed all accessories within the cella of the temple, he had to leave the external sculptures as he found them.

Even after the removal or destruction of the great statue, and the conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian church, most of its external sculpture appears to have remained intact, with the exception of the central group of the east pediment, which was destroyed in building the apse of the church. It was not until the disastrous explosion of the Turkish powder magazine within the cella, in 1687, that a completer destruction began; and the explosion was followed by the even more disastrous attempt of the victorious Veneto-German army to carry off as booty some portions of the sculpture that their cannon had already damaged. Thus the chariot and horses of Athena in the west pediment appear to have perished in a clumsy attempt to lower them from their place. What was left remained exposed to weather, vandalism, or neglect, until Lord Elgin, in 1801-1802, obtained leave to carry it off to England. Though it is possible that his agents may not in every case have shown all the care and discretion of which their task was worthy, there is no doubt that the work on the whole was very well done, that we owe to it, in a great measure, the degree of preservation in which the sculptures still remain, and that Lord Elgin's action deserves the gratitude, rather than the censure, of all who have learnt to appreciate the "Elgin Marbles."¹ It must be remembered that at the time when he carried them off they were not only neglected by those who had charge of them, but were in constant danger of being carried off piecemeal by less scrupulous travellers, and that soon afterwards, in the war of Greek independence, the Acropolis was repeatedly besieged and bombarded, and its buildings suffered severely. He removed for the most part only such portions of the sculpture as, from their position in the building, were exposed to the weather or to other risks. Indeed, his discretion in this matter was perhaps carried even too far, as we may easily realise by comparing what is still left *in situ* in its present state with the

¹ The absurd misrepresentations and the abuse showered on Lord Elgin by Byron and others have had undue influence. They are now discredited by all authorities—French, German, and Italian, as well as English—who have investigated the matter. In view of the suggestion that these marbles ought to be given back to Greece, now that the Greeks appreciate their value and are capable of taking care of them, it must be remembered that they are now safely housed in a place where they are easily accessible. If they were returned, they could not be replaced in the building from which they were taken unless it were entirely restored; and it is hard to see what would be gained by placing them in a museum in Athens.

casts which he had made at the time of all that he left behind. Owing to his action, the bulk of this sculpture is now in the British Museum; a few pieces are in the Louvre, and a few others have been taken elsewhere by earlier marauders. A good deal, especially at the two ends, still remains on the building itself.

The various fields to which the sculptured decoration of the temple was assigned have already been described in the section of the Introduction concerning architectural sculpture (c). It will be best to describe them in the order which is probably also the order of their execution—(1) the metopes, (2) the pediments, and (3) the frieze.

(1) *The Metopes*.—These were sculptured all round the building, 32 on each of the sides, and 14 on each of the fronts. Those of the south side alone are preserved sufficiently to offer any material for our study; the rest have suffered so severely from the weather and from the vicissitudes which the building has undergone, that we can only conjecture their subjects, and can form hardly any opinion as to their style. It appears that the eastern front contained scenes from the battle between gods and giants, and the western, combats between Greeks and Amazons; on the northern side even the subject is doubtful. On the southern side the twelve¹ metopes at either end represent the assault of the Centaurs upon the Lapith women at the bridal of Pirithous, and the consequent battle between Centaurs and Lapiths. This subject is naturally broken up into scenes of single combat. The relief is very high; the figures are almost detached from the ground, and are practically in the round, a fact which may account for the completeness with which so many of the metopes have been destroyed. The best preserved metopes are nearly all in the British Museum; the most western metope of the south side is still *in situ* on the Parthenon, and affords an opportunity for appreciating the effect of the high relief and vigorous design of the metopes, as seen in the massive architectural frame for which they were designed. The metopes vary in style more than any other part of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. In some cases we see a comparatively tame and lifeless design, or, if the combat is more vigorous in conception, yet the pose of the combatants is

¹ Only eleven at the east end have Centaurs; but the twelfth may well belong to the same scene.

awkward or strained; some of the metopes, on the other hand, are unsurpassed in all art for the admirable balance of their composition, the perfect adaptation of design to field, and, above all, for the wonderful life and beauty of the figures, whether still engaged in the conflict (Fig. 56), or exulting in triumph over a fallen foe (Fig. 57). Nor is there less variety in the execution. The drapery is sometimes stiff and archaic in



FIG. 56.—Metope of Parthenon (British Museum).

character, sometimes it approaches that unrivalled treatment which we see in the pediments and frieze; sometimes it is entirely absent, or is treated merely as a subordinate accessory; in other cases we can see already that tendency to use it to fill vacant spaces in the field with the rich decorative effect characteristic of later Attic relief. The modelling of the figures varies also, from a hard and dry treatment like that of the earlier Attic sculptors of athletic subjects, to a perfect mastery, free alike from softness and from exaggeration. The

type of the heads is light and Attic, and usually shows an archaic character in the eyes and the hair. The bestial faces of the Centaurs are not really more advanced in style, though their deep and distorted wrinkles and their grimaces of pain make them appear less conventional—a contrast which we have



FIG. 57.—Metope of Parthenon (British Museum).

noticed also at Olympia. The treatment of the semi-bestial nature of the Centaur reaches its acme in these metopes. The human body joined at the waist to the horse's neck is, in itself, one of the worst of the mixed forms devised by fancy, since it implies a duplication of so many of the essential organs. How unnatural and unconvincing such a combination appears may be seen by a glance at its unskilful rendering, for example

on the relief at Assos. Success in so difficult an attempt was not attained at one leap; we see elsewhere, particularly at Olympia, the various advances towards a more harmonious effect; but it is in the Parthenon that one principle is first fully grasped and consistently carried out; this is the adoption of a familiar device of archaic art, by which the breast is seen facing, the lower part of the body in profile. So in these metopes the human upper part of the Centaurs is always seen either from the front or three-quarter face; while the equine body is seen in profile; the breadth thus gained for the upper part, and the subtle curves of the transition from the one form to the other, seen only in front, and implied at the back, help to justify and almost to make credible the monstrous combination.

We have already seen reason to believe that Phidias, while doubtless supervising the whole design, was obliged to leave many details to his assistants, and it need not surprise us to find that these assistants worked more independently in the case of the metopes. From structural necessity, the metopes had to be in their place before the cornice was put over the outer colonnade, and therefore before the erection of the pediments. At so early a stage of the work, it may well be supposed that Phidias had not yet a trained body of assistants, and that he was more dependent on the Attic artists of earlier schools for help in the execution of his designs. The hard and dry work of some of the metopes recalls the style of Critius and Nesiotes, and it is to be remembered that Critius founded a school of athletic sculpture which went on for many generations.¹ Myron too had scholars; and some of these groups, with their even poise of combat and their choice of a momentary pause in the midst of violent motion, are worthy of Myron himself. Others again, in their violent contortions, their tricks of the wrestling school, their ungainly and unstable position, seem to betray the hand of pupils or imitators who, in their admiration for the apparently reckless originality and variety of the sculptor of the Discobolus, failed to catch his fine sense of appropriateness and restraint. There is, in the details of the metopes, more originality and less perfection of finish than elsewhere in the sculpture of the Parthenon. In them we may see more of the exuberance of Attic art of the period, and less of the controlling genius of Phidias himself.

¹ See p. 190.

(2) The pediments of the Parthenon are described by Pausanias only in the most summary manner: "What one sees on the pediment as one enters the temple," he says, "is entirely concerned with the birth of Athena; while at the back is the strife of Poseidon against Athena for the land." If we were left only to this meagre description, and to the scanty, though precious remains that still survive, we should have considerable difficulty in getting any satisfactory notion of the composition as a whole. For the eastern or front pediment, this is unhappily the case. Though the French artist, Carrey, who visited the Parthenon in 1674, shortly before the explosion which destroyed the middle of the building, made a drawing of the eastern pediment as he then saw it, he could record even less than may still be seen in the galleries of the British Museum. With the western pediment it is otherwise. Carrey's drawing, in spite of some minor errors in the intervals and in the position of the figures, which may well have been shifted slightly from their original place,¹ is evidently an accurate and intelligent record of what he saw; and it shows us the composition of the western pediment almost complete. It is best, therefore, to deal first with this pediment, though its actual remains, in the British Museum and at Athens, are even more scanty than those of the eastern.

The story of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica has a mythological significance which cannot be discussed here; the two were reconciled in the Erechtheum, which was really the centre of the old state religion of Athens, though even there Poseidon had to take a subordinate position. But in the Parthenon Athena was supreme, and her victory over Poseidon, as recorded in the western pediment, was symbolical of the unrivalled glory of her worship in her chosen city. The form of the story varied in details; that which appears to be adopted by the designer of the pediment is as follows. Poseidon and Athena both laid claim to the land of Attica, and Poseidon produced a salt-spring (*θάλασσα*) as the symbol or pledge of his occupation, Athena the olive tree; both these symbols were preserved and revered within the precincts of

¹ For the sake of ascertaining the exact position of the figures, Dr. Sauer has made a detailed sketch of all indications of clamps, sockets, weathering, etc., remaining on the base and field of the pediments; see *Myth. Ath.*, 1891, p. 59, Taf. iii., and *Ant. Denkmäler* (Berlin), I. 58.

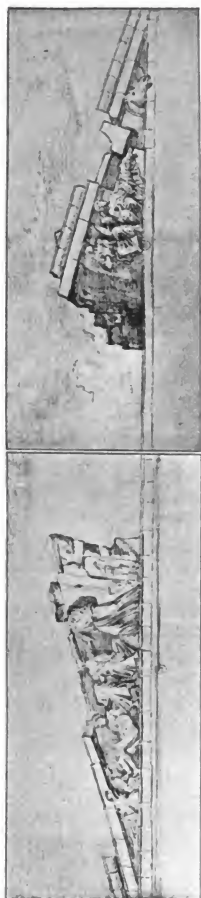


FIG. 58.—Carrey's drawing of E. pediment of Parthenon (after Bertin, *Antike Denkmäler*, I. 6 and 6a).



FIG. 59.—Carrey's drawing of W. pediment of Parthenon (after Bertin, *Antike Denkmäler*, I. 6a).

the Erechtheum. Zeus referred the quarrel to the decision of Cecrops and other heroes of the Attic land, or, according to another version, to the twelve gods; they decided in favour of Athena, and Poseidon retired in wrath. The central group of the pediment, which is divided from the subordinate groups at the sides by the chariot and horses of Athena on the left, and probably by those of Poseidon on the right, consists of two figures only, Athena and Poseidon. Each moves with the whole impulse of body and limbs away from the central point, which each slightly overlaps; but each has the head turned back towards the centre. Their paths seem to cross, and there is an opposing balance of momentum in the midst of impetuous action which is peculiarly happy in this position, and at once gives the combination of symmetry and variety, so essential to architectural sculpture, which may be traced also through all the subordinate parts of the composition. The exact motive of the two figures that compose this central group has given rise to many discussions. It seems clear from Carrey's drawing, which is confirmed by the extant fragments of the two figures, that Poseidon has been advancing, and is suddenly starting back,

ὥς ὅτε τις τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλινὸρρος ἀπέστη,

as Mr. Watkiss Lloyd has aptly quoted. His resemblance in position to Myron's Marsyas is obvious at first glance, and we can hardly be wrong in assigning a similar motive; indeed, we may perhaps acknowledge that this central group in its character and subject may have been influenced by Myron's Athena and Marsyas. However that may be, we must suppose that Poseidon is starting back not only before Athena's advance, but also from some object at which he is startled. What that object was we may infer from the legend, but there is other evidence also to take into account. The contest of Athena and Poseidon is a frequent subject in minor art; and in some cases we may recognise either this central group, or a part of it, directly imitated from the Parthenon pediment. On some Athenian coins¹ we may probably recognise a figure of Athena derived from this pediment; though turned the other way, as is natural enough in the die-sinker's art, she resembles very

¹ See Imhoof and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, pl. Z. Some confusion is caused by the fact that other coins represent a quite different treatment of the theme.

strongly the goddess as represented in Carrey's sketch. In almost all cases we see beside Athena, in a position which would correspond to the centre of the pediment, an olive tree, usually with a snake twined round; when Poseidon is present, this snake seems to attack him. Another valuable piece of evidence is a vase found at Kertch, representing this same contest of Athena and Poseidon.¹ Here the figure of Athena resembles that in the pediment, but in Poseidon there is no sign of the sudden retreat so clearly indicated in Carrey's sketch; between the two is an olive tree; a snake coiled round its trunk rises against Poseidon, and amidst its branches floats a Victory, bringing her garland to crown Athena. Several subordinate figures are present, but they have little in common with the subordinate figures on the pediment. It may be doubted how far we are justified in using either coins or vase as material for the restoration of the Parthenon pediment. The direct relation between them and their supposed original can in no case be proved decisively; and we must remember that there was on the Acropolis another group representing the same subject as the pediment. It seems likely, however, that, as the sea-creatures (perhaps dolphins) visible on Carrey's drawing of the pediment behind Poseidon represent his symbol, the salt-spring, so too the olive, the rival symbol of Athena, in right of which she claimed possession of the land, must have been represented; and this symbol finds its fitting place in the middle of the pediment; its sudden appearance may well be the portent from which Poseidon starts back, and Athena's triumphant advance suffices to indicate her victory.

The two central figures stand, as it were, in a space by themselves; behind Athena was her chariot, driven probably by Victory, her constant attendant; the chariot of Poseidon is also held in by a female charioteer, who may well be identified as his consort Amphitrite. His chariot and its team were destroyed before Carrey's sketch was made. Another figure stands just in front of the charioteer on either side, a nude male on Athena's side, a draped female on that of Poseidon; it has been suggested that these may be Hermes and Iris, sent to declare the result of the contest; but this appears superfluous, when its decision is already so obvious. The subordinate figures behind the charioteers on

¹ *Compte Rendu*, St. Petersburg, 1872; *J. H. S.* 1882, p. 245.

either side have met with as many identifications as there have been writers to discuss them, if we reckon all the combinations and permutations which have been devised by the ingenuity of interpreters. The fact is that Carrey's sketches afford just enough material for conjecture, but not enough to lead us to any certain conclusion. It has, for example, been much disputed whether the nude figure seated on the knees of a draped woman in the middle of the right side is male or female, and varying conjectures have been made on either hypothesis.¹ The only clue that could guide us safely under such circumstances would be the recognition of some of the figures or groups of figures as a definite type, reproduced on other monuments, with a meaning that can be identified; but this has not hitherto been done. The woman seated with two children behind Amphitrite, or the child between the standing woman and the seated one behind Athena's chariot, seems at first sight to offer a clue; but a glance at the long list of varying identifications given in Michaelis' *Parthenon* suffices to show how inadequate it is. Apart from isolated guesses about individual figures, we may say that three different systems of explanation are possible. Either the sculptor intended to represent those, either gods or heroes, who were actually present at the contest; or he represented those special heroes and local divinities of Attica who, by their presence, symbolised the interest of the Attic people in the triumph of their goddess; or else he added in the subordinate positions a series of purely local personifications, intended to indicate the scene of the action in which the principal figures are involved. Against the first theory it may be urged that gods or heroes, if present, were, according to the legend, present as judges. And there is nothing of the character of judges about the assistant figures; they certainly are not the twelve gods, nor can we regard them as a representative body of Attic heroes, who would, from all analogy, be a set of dignified and aged men; it has been suggested that they were present as partisans on either side, but this again does not seem borne out by the character of the figures. In a combination of the second and third hypotheses we may probably find the truth; probably the sculptor had in his mind some definite mythological or topographical signification for each figure; but, whatever it was, it

¹ Dr. Sauer claims to have settled this question by finding a male knee and breast which must have belonged to this figure. *Mittheil. Ath.* 1891, p. 80.

is now lost, and we cannot recover it unless some new evidence should be found to show his meaning. As to one or two figures perhaps a more definite conclusion is possible; it has been generally agreed to recognise a river-god (Fig. 62) and a nymph—probably Cephissus and Callirhoë—in the recumbent figures at the ends, who thus give the topographical boundaries of the scene, an interpretation in close analogy with that of the similar figures on the east pediment at Olympia, which were traditionally explained as river-gods in the time of Pausanias; and the identification is confirmed by the wonderfully soft and flowing modelling of the body and limbs of the Cephissus (often called Ilissus); similarly in a statue of the Eurotas, made more than a century later by Eutychides,¹ the texture of the body was praised as “more liquid than water.” The position of the figures on the building also coincides, as at Olympia, with the actual local conditions. Cephissus, probably accompanied by an attendant nymph,² is on the side of his own river, and Callirhoë, beside whom is Ilissus, is towards her spring. The seated bearded man, near the left end, round whose neck the girl beside him puts her arm, has a coil of a large snake behind him. This has been quoted to prove the figures are either Cecrops and one of his daughters, or Asclepius and Hygieia; neither theory is as yet convincingly proved.

The central group of the eastern pediment is irretrievably lost; a discussion as to how it may have been rendered belongs rather to the province of mythography than of sculpture. The birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, with the help of a blow with an axe given by Prometheus or Hephaestus, is a common subject on early Attic vases, where the goddess is seen like a little armed doll, actually emerging from the crown of her father's head. It is difficult to imagine how such a treatment of the subject can have been modified even by Phidias into a theme fit for monumental sculpture; it is more likely that he discarded this conventional type altogether, and represented Athena as standing beside her father, already, as in the legend, full-grown and armed, while the attendant figures, such as Prometheus with his axe, and the Ilithyiae who had assisted in the safe

¹ See p. 448, § 62.

² This figure is not present on Carrey's drawing, but there is a space for her; Sauer, *l.c.*, suggests that she must have fallen when the block on which she rested was carried away by a falling piece of the cornice.

delivery, sufficed to indicate that her birth had just taken place. Such is the rendering of the subject on a marble puteal (or border of a well) in Madrid, where Victory also floats to crown the new-born goddess;¹ and this puteal may reproduce the theme of this eastern pediment. It must be acknowledged that the figures of Athena and Victory on the puteal bear a remarkable resemblance to those of the same two figures, perhaps from the western pediment, on the Kertch vase; and while this resemblance is in favour of the view that both vase and puteal are derived from a common source in the Parthenon, we may well hesitate to admit the probability of so strong a resemblance between the central groups of the two pediments. However this may be, the indications on the ground of the pediment and the supports provided seem to show that there was no figure in the centre of the pediment, but that here, as in the west pediment, two figures only formed the central group, Athena on the right, and Zeus, seated on his throne and facing her, on the left.

The subordinate figures of the eastern pediment are still in great measure preserved, and are, perhaps, the most perfect works of sculpture that exist. Just as, in the west pediment, a local setting is provided for the scene of contest, which took place in Attica, so here the birth of Athena is framed with appropriate circumstance; the scene is in heaven, the time sunrise, and so, while Selene, the Moon, descends with her chariot² at the right corner of the pediment, Helios rises with his team from the sea at its left corner. Facing the rising horses of the Sun is the noble reclining figure familiarly known as Theseus, a name that has little beyond its familiarity to commend it. Here too the true identification has been much disputed; the suggestion of Brunn that the figure represents Mount Olympus, illuminated by the rays of the rising sun, and serving to indicate more definitely the locality, has much in its favour. Such reclining figures are not uncommon as personifications of mountains; and the suggestion is thoroughly in harmony with the conventions of Greek art. The identification of the remaining figures in this pediment is as problematic

¹ Baumeister, Fig. 172.

² One horse is in the British Museum, and the remains of three others are still on the pediment; the suggestions that Selene was riding on one horse, or driving a pair, must therefore be set aside.

as in the western; though we can still study the originals, their distinctive attributes are gone; but here also two systems are possible; we may either regard them as strictly mythological personages, present at the event, or as more or less fanciful personifications to give it, as it were, a cosmic setting, since no local surroundings would suffice. Here, however, the two systems are not mutually exclusive as in the west pediment; thus Brunn's suggestion that the two seated figures next his Olympus are the Horae, to whom the gate of Olympus is entrusted, and past whom Iris is hastening out to bear the message to the world, may find their place in either. Corresponding to Iris, on the other side, most authorities restore another figure in rapid motion, sent to tell abroad the news of the birth of Athena; this figure, which may be Victory (*Nίκη*), does not however hasten to the right as Iris to the left, but seems rather to be advancing straight forward.¹ Next to her is a seated figure, who, as Carrey's sketch shows, turned her head toward the middle of the pediment. She may or may not form part of a single group with the two that are between her and Selene. One of these sits on the end of a couch, along which the other is reclined leaning on her companion's lap. The three have been called the Fates,² or the three Attic Horae; in the absence of attributes, no such identification can be proved: others have suggested a more fanciful meaning, drawn from the marvellous delicacy and richness of the drapery, especially of the reclining figure,³ and interpret them as personifications, not indeed of places or rivers, but of nature in a more general aspect (Fig. 63).

But it is time to turn from the meaning of the artist to the composition of the groups, and the execution by which their splendid conception has found a worthy expression. We have already noticed the subtlety in the balance of composition shown by the central group of the western pediment; as to the eastern, unfortunately, we can say but little. Here we can

¹ Sauer's investigations have proved that this figure cannot, as had been suggested, be Victory crowning Athena in the middle of the pediment.

² It is true the Fates are present in the Madrid puteal; but they have no resemblance to these figures, and such subordinate additions were often made in decorative work from other sources than that from which the main subject was drawn.

³ Thus Brunn calls them clouds; Professor Waldstein suggests Thalassa (Sea) in the lap of Gaia (Earth).

best realise the great attainment of the designer of the Parthenon sculptures by a comparison with his predecessors in the same field. In the east pediment at Olympia there is also a balance, but of simple and even monotonous rest; in the western Olympian pediment there is motion enough, and motion symmetrically balanced; but it is motion either directly towards or directly away from the centre, where a single colossal figure offers a fixed mass amidst the struggling figures, *pugnae nodumque moramque*. The abolition of this central figure in the Parthenon pediments makes the balance more delicate and more subtly felt. And in the subordinate figures too there is more variety and elasticity in the symmetry which, in an architectural composition, can never be lost sight of. The two sides still correspond, figure to figure; but their grouping varies in detail. Thus the three "Fates" of the eastern pediment correspond to three figures in very similar attitudes on the left side of the same pediment; but while the reclining figure and the companion in whose lap she rests form a closely-united group, from which the other seated figure is slightly separated, the two seated figures on the other side are closely united, and the reclining male figure is separated from them. This is a simple and obvious instance of a refinement of composition that may be traced throughout. Again, though the attendant figures are all present as spectators of the central action, on which their interest is fixed, they do not all turn towards it with a monotonous iteration. It may almost seem at first as if the artist, in his desire to avoid this iteration, had gone too far in turning some figures away from the scene they are present to witness. But it is the moment just after the culminating event that is rendered in each case; and a consciousness of it seems to pervade the whole without the need for further concentration of attention. Thus the perception of the spectator, in travelling from either extremity towards the centre, is not led on by a continually-increasing strain, but is, as it were, borne on a succession of waves. So much we can guess from the scanty remains that are left; but, when so much is lost, it must always be difficult to realise adequately what must have been the effect of the whole.

To study the execution of the Parthenon pediments is the liberal education of artists, to imitate it the despair of sculptors. It is impossible to speak of it here except in the briefest way;

all we can do is to notice a few of the characteristics that seem to distinguish it from that of other masterpieces of Greek sculpture. No heads are left on the figures, excepting that of the so-called Theseus; and its surface is so damaged that we



FIG. 60.—De Laborde Head, from a cast (Paris, private collection).

can judge of little but its proportions. In the treatment of hair and of eyelids there is still a trace of archaic convention.

A female head (Fig. 60), now in Paris,¹ was brought to Venice

¹ Called the Weber head, from a former possessor, who suggested its belonging to the Parthenon; it is now in the De Laborde collection.

by Morosini's secretary, and so there is every external probability in favour of its belonging to some figure from the Parthenon pediments, to which its style seems appropriate. In spite of its restored nose and chin, we can recognise in this head a noble and intellectual type, a breadth and simplicity of modelling, coupled with the most delicate play of surface, and perfect skill in the treatment of marble, which can only be matched by the similar qualities that we may recognise in the draped figures, to one of which it must probably belong.



FIG. 61.—"Theseus," from E. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

For the modelling of the nude male form we have again the Theseus and the Cephisus. The wonderfully soft and flowing surface of the latter has already been referred to. The Theseus (Fig. 61) on the other hand presents, as it were, the sum of all that Greek sculpture had hitherto attained in the rendering of the male figure. There is nothing about him of the dry and somewhat meagre forms that characterise the athletic art of early masters, nor of that unduly square and massive build that was chosen by the sculptors of the Peloponnese. It is an absolute freedom

from exaggeration of any sort that marks in him the perfection of sculptural technique. His muscles are correctly felt and closely indicated, yet not in such a way as to suggest that there is no interposing layer of flesh between them and the skin; his figure shows in every detail, as well as in its general character, the most powerful build and the height of physical condition; yet it is that of a perfectly-developed man rather than that of a successful athlete. Above all, in his pose, with its combination of grace and dignity, we see that Attic art has lost none of its feeling for beauty of composition and pleasantness of effect, while acquiring the more vigorous and severe excellence of other schools. But it is in the treatment of the draped female figure (Fig. 63) that the art of Athens reaches the most marvellous



FIG. 62.—Cephisus (Ilissus), from W. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

attainments of its prime, as it had devoted to the same subject the most quaint and careful devotion of its youth. Here the mastery over the material is so perfect as to make us forget the slow and laborious process by which it has been attained. The marvellous rendering of the texture of the drapery and the almost infinite multiplicity of its folds does not obscure or even modify the dignity and breadth of the whole conception, but only adds to it a new delicacy and grace. And this seems to be mainly due to two causes—the perfect harmony of the drapery with the forms which it covers, and the studied and elaborate system of the drapery itself, in which every fold, however apparently accidental or even realistic in itself, has a relation to the effect of the whole. We can see those characteristics most clearly in the group of the “three Fates,” especially in the

reclining figure, which, perhaps more than any other, even among these Parthenon sculptures, shows the most marvellous translation into marble of flesh and of drapery. The nobility and breadth are of course in great measure due to the proportions of the figure, which are very different from those of later Greek art; to realise this one has only to contrast them with those of the Aphrodite of Praxiteles,¹ in which we see the most perfect expression of the more usual, perhaps more human, ideal of the female form. There is nothing hard or unwomanly about these Parthenon figures; only in their combination of grace with majesty they seem to imply a higher ideal of womanhood than



FIG. 63.—"The Fates," from E. pediment of Parthenon (British Museum).

we find elsewhere in Greek art. The drapery reveals, by its modelling and by the flow of its folds, the limbs which it seems to hide; yet it never clings to them so as to lose its own essential character. And its folds, however minute in themselves, are always divided into clear and definite masses, which save it from the crumpled confusion one often sees in an attempt to paint or carve so delicate a texture. Compare the drapery of the Aphrodite of Melos, where these broad masses only are given, the sculptor, in his desire to escape from his own time and to recover the style of the fifth century, not daring to add the multitudinous detail which here, and here alone, does not mar the simplicity and breadth of the impression produced. For a

¹ See p. 361.

different effect, a study of the bold curves of wind-swept drapery, we may turn to the Iris of the east pediment. Here the drapery, stretched by the rapid motion of the goddess, does not fall into such minute folds as in the figures at rest; the contrast is such that some have seen in it the work of a different artist. But the explanation is rather to be sought in the thicker material of the simpler Doric chiton worn by Iris, while the drapery of "the Fates" is Ionic in its richness of folds and fineness of texture. With the Iris we may compare the Chiaramonti Niobid,¹ a figure unsurpassed for realism in floating drapery. There is again more system, more subordination of detail to the effect of the whole, than in the later work. Of course we cannot fail to recognise that the sculptor, in works like these, transcends his surroundings; yet the conventions and restraint of his predecessors and their elaborate study of systems of drapery which we see in the earlier works of Attic art, are not without their influence even on the artists of the Parthenon, and afford, as it were, a solid framework without which all this spontaneous exuberance of beauty might well have exceeded the strict limits of sculptural perfection.

Many other things call for notice which must be briefly mentioned; for example the spirited modelling of the horses of Helios and Selene, and their contrast;—his horses inhale with distended nostrils the air of the morning as they spring from the sea, and hers, tired with their nightly course, still show their mettle as they near the goal. This need not surprise us when we remember that Myron and Calamis were even more famous for their sculpture of animals than of men, and that a series of horses from the Acropolis show the studies of earlier Attic artists in this line, in contrast to the comparatively tame horses of Olympia.

It has often been remarked that these pedimental sculptures are finished almost as carefully behind as in front, and this has been quoted to show the love of the Greek artist for his work in itself, and his wish to make it beautiful even where it could never be seen. Perhaps another explanation may be found, more reasonable and more in accordance with what we know of Greek art, which was never given to spending labour for no purpose. We know that a Greek vase-painter—like a modern

¹ See p. 424. Of course allowance must be made for this Niobid being a copy, though a good copy.

artist—was in the habit of drawing the whole of a figure of which the greater part was concealed behind another, in order to make sure that the relations of the visible parts were correctly drawn, and afterwards of erasing or omitting the parts concealed. May we not imagine that the artists who made these pedimental figures had their sculptural instinct so strongly developed that to them a figure in the round sculptured only in front was like a figure drawn of which only some portions showed, and that in order to assure themselves of the correctness of the visible parts, they felt it necessary to complete the whole figures, at least in the rough? The labour thus expended offers no less strong a testimony to the devotion of the sculptors and their determination to leave nothing undone that might add to the perfection of their work, and it seems to proceed from a less sentimental and more rational motive.

In speaking of these sculptures of the Parthenon pediments, it has been assumed so far that they are a product of Attic art; and the evidence in favour of this view is so strong that it can hardly be contested. How far we may consider them to be the work of Phidias himself it is a difficult matter to decide. In the case of the metopes we saw reason to believe that a considerable amount of latitude in matters of detail and execution must have been left to his assistants, even if he superintended the distribution of the scenes and their general design. But in the pediments, which were doubtless regarded as the culmination of the sculptural decoration, we cannot imagine him to have left the design to any other hand. It would indeed have been impossible for Phidias to have carved with his own hand so many large figures in marble during the short time in which the Parthenon was completed,—a time too during which he had to make the colossal gold and ivory statue of Athena, as well as to superintend the whole artistic administration of Pericles. But we may well suppose that he supervised the execution of the pediments in person, that he even gave a finishing touch to some portions, and that he had as his assistants in this work a band of sculptors whom he had trained so completely in his methods that their hand could hardly be distinguished from his own. We may thus best understand the wonderfully even excellence in execution which we recognise, in spite of some varieties in style, in the pediments, as contrasted with the very uneven quality of work which we see in the metopes, and some-

times also in the frieze. And, without the direct personal influence and supervision of Phidias, it is almost impossible to understand the marvellous excellence of the pediments in execution as well as in design, and the vast interval which we see between them and other almost contemporary examples of architectural sculpture.

(3) The frieze of the Parthenon¹ consists of a band of low relief, going all round the outside of the cella, within the peristyle; it is about 3 ft. 4 in. high, and the depth of the relief averages only about an inch and a half. The greater part of the frieze is now in the British Museum; that on the west end is still *in situ* on the building, and a few other slabs are in Athens; there are also some fragments in the Louvre and elsewhere.

The subject of the frieze is the Panathenaic procession, the most brilliant ceremony of the great Panathenaic games, which were held every fourth year in honour of Athena. This procession, which led beasts for sacrifice to the Acropolis, and also carried the Peplos or sacred robe of the goddess, woven for her by chosen Athenian matrons and maids, was representative of all that was best and noblest in the Athenian state and society; the magistrates of the city, bands of men and youths chosen for their dignity and beauty, maidens of the noblest families, the representatives of allied and tributary states, the resident aliens in the city, all had their place in the festal procession, which was escorted by chariots and by the Athenian knights in military pomp. Such a subject was fittingly chosen to adorn the temple, as the most brilliant and characteristic act of worship in which Athena was honoured by her chosen city. On the western end of the cella, over the columns of the opisthodomus, are represented the knights equipping themselves and their horses for the festal parade. On either side, north and south, we see the procession advancing towards the eastern front. At the back are the knights, riding in a throng (Fig. 64), in front of them come the chariots, each accompanied by a marshal and an armed warrior (apobates) as well as the charioteer. In front of them again come bands of men, and, on the north side attendants and musicians; nearest in approaching the east front are the beasts for sacrifice, cows only on the south side, cows and sheep on the north. On the east side we see the head of the

¹ For its position in the building, see p. 41.

procession turning the corner at either extremity ; here are the maidens with sacrificial vessels and implements, advancing to meet a group of men, who are probably the nine archons and other high functionaries. Then, in the centre of the eastern side, over the main door of entrance of the temple, we see the gods, seated in assembly as guests of Athena at her high festival. They are divided into two groups. Nearest the



FIG. 64.—Slab from N. frieze of Parthenon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

centre, in the right group is Athena ; next her come Hephaestus, Poseidon, Dionysus, Demeter (Fig. 65), and Aphrodite,¹ with Eros leaning against her knee. On the other side the place of honour is held by Zeus, and beyond him are Hera, attended by Iris, Ares, Artemis, Apollo, and Hermes. Zeus and Athena are separated by a space in which is represented what one would expect to be, in meaning as in position, the central point

¹ This list of gods is not beyond dispute as to some of the identifications ; but the possible differences cannot be profitably discussed in the space that can here be afforded.

of the whole ceremony. In the midst stand a priest, probably the Archon Basileus, and the priestess of Athena, back to back; he is occupied, with the assistance of a boy, in folding a large piece of cloth or drapery, while she is taking from two attendant maidens the stools which they carry. Since the offering of the Peplos, or sacred robe of Athena, was the essential feature of the Panathenaic procession, and the Peplos, if not represented here, is not to be found anywhere



FIG. 65.—Group of Gods (Poseidon, Dionysus, Demeter (?)), from E. frieze of Parthenon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

else in the frieze, it is generally agreed that we must recognise it in the piece of drapery which the priest holds; but his action certainly does not seem to suggest that he is taking charge of the new peplos brought to Athena by the procession, from which, moreover, he is separated by the whole group of the gods.¹ Both he and the priestess appear to be employed in pre-

¹ This has been so strongly felt by some that they maintain the priest is only taking off his own himation in preparation for the sacrifice; he is dressed only in a long chiton. For such a prominence given to vestments we have no authority in Greek ritual. The stools taken by the priestess are also a puzzle; it is hard to find a motive for them adequate to the position they occupy.

paration for the great ceremony rather than in its performance ; and we may perhaps find a more probable explanation of this central group if we suppose the priest to be folding up and putting away the old peplos of Athena to make place for the new one which was to be brought her. Thus the offering of the new peplos is implied by the folding up of the old one, and an adequate motive is provided for the group over the east door ; though it is still hard to explain why the new peplos is not represented anywhere on the frieze.¹ The group of gods on either side turn their backs on the priest and priestess, and fix their attention on the procession, which advances towards them from either side.

The frieze is distinguished at once by its unity and its variety of design. Each element in the procession occupies a long enough portion of the field to attract and to satisfy the attention of a spectator who sees it between the columns as he walks along the building ; yet no two figures are alike ; and a principle of contrasts marks the different parts—the majestic repose of the gods and their subtle characterisation in pose and feature, the slow and stately advance of the maidens and of the men, and the impetuous rush of the cavalry, again moderated by the graceful seat and perfect ease of the riders. In adaptation of technical treatment to the circumstances and position probably no work of sculpture shows so careful calculation as this frieze—again a proof of its unity of design, under the control of one supervising master, amidst all variations of the excellence and style of the execution in details. So little is this sometimes understood, that it has been stated that the frieze of the Parthenon was placed where it could not be seen. Set in the outer wall of the cella, in the narrow space between it and the entablature over the peristyle, high relief would have been difficult to see, and its deep shadows would have prevented a satisfactory lighting. For the lighting came entirely from below, reflected from the white marble pavement. This is the explanation of the fact that the relief is higher—that is to say is cut in deeper—in the upper part of the slabs than in the lower.² The light coming from below,

¹ The peplos was carried as the sail of a ship in late times ; but this has nothing to do with the custom of the time of Phidias.

² Their depth is given in the Brit. Mus. Catalogue as $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the bottom, $2\frac{1}{4}$ at the top, with an average of $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

made it necessary to avoid deep cutting, and consequently deep shadows, in the lower part; and, on the other hand, the lower contours of the figures are often cut more clearly, and even surrounded with a groove cut into the ground, to make them show, while the upper contours are weaker—so weak in some cases as to be almost invisible when lit from above, and to cause confusion in some of the finest blocks of the frieze when now seen in a museum. All these details in execution must proceed from a consideration of the lighting. The point of view of the spectator below would not explain all of them; and of course the frieze was not meant to be seen from the narrower passage of the peristyle, but from outside it, where the advance of the moving procession, as seen between the columns, would give a peculiarly lifelike appearance as its scenes opened themselves, one after another, to the view. Another characteristic of the frieze is the wonderfully skilful manipulation of the low relief, so as to give an impression of roundness to the figures, and even to show them, apparently one behind another, in masses of considerable depth; this is especially the case with the troops of cavalry. The result is obtained partly by extraordinary skill and delicacy in the modelling of the surface of marble, a peculiarly Attic virtue of which we saw some anticipation in a work like the stela of Aristocles, partly by another device, also known in other Attic reliefs. Where one figure overlaps another at one side, and is in its turn overlapped by another, apparently in front of it, the surface of this intermediate figure is not, as it appears to be, a plane parallel to the normal surface of the relief, but is slightly inclined to it. This inclination is so slight as not to be visible, and consequently the three figures, though all perhaps cut an equal depth into the marble, appear to be one behind another in three different planes. In style the frieze is the most perfect example of Attic grace and refinement—more human and less exalted in conception than the pediments, as befits its subject—it embodies the ideal representation of the people of Athens, uniting in the honour of the goddess whose birth and exploits were celebrated in those more conspicuous groups. In design it is not unworthy of the same master, and the unity of decorative effect as well as of religious conception which distinguishes all the sculpture of the Parthenon seems to claim as its author Phidias, whom we know to have been in control of the whole artistic activity of Athens at

the time. And the assistants that helped him in the execution, though not all equally skilful, were such a band as Phidias alone could have trained and influenced. So complete and so successful was their co-operation that the sculpture of the Parthenon stands in a connected series as the most perfect example of the art of Greece.

§ 36. *Other Athenian Sculptures*—*Theseum, Erechtheum, Temple of Wingless Victory*, etc.—If the sculptures of the Parthenon are of supreme importance to us, as showing the work done in Athens under the direct supervision of Phidias himself, those which ornamented other Athenian temples are hardly less instructive. Though some of them probably belong to a time considerably removed from that of his artistic activity, they must all of them be regarded as the products of the school of which he was the acknowledged head; some of them may show us the character of that school before his genius had become predominant; in others we can still trace his influence after his disappearance from the scene; and we can also distinguish here and there the characteristics which we have reason to associate with other leading Attic sculptors and their pupils. In the Parthenon we may indeed see the highest attainment of the Attic school; but we must supplement our study of its sculpture by an observation of the remains of other Attic buildings, if we would form a complete notion of the varied artistic activity which marked the Athens of the fifth century.

Second only to the Parthenon in the style and preservation of its sculpture—though a long way removed from it—comes the Theseum. It is impossible to discuss here the question whether the Theseum is actually the temple built to hold the bones of Theseus, which Cimon brought back from Scyros in 469 B.C. Some valid arguments have been adduced against this identification; the strongest are those which point to the forms both of architecture and sculpture as impossible at such a date. But on the other hand no other identification can be regarded as attaining a high degree of probability, much less certainty. Under these circumstances nothing is gained by giving up the accepted tradition; but in retaining it, though we have advantage of a name which readily associates itself with the sculpture, we must not draw any inference as to the actual date of the architecture and sculpture of the temple, but must rather acknowledge that, if it is the Theseum, it cannot

have been completed until some time after Cimon's bringing the bones of Theseus from Scyros. It appears to be nearly contemporary with the Parthenon; and the sculpture of the Theseum shows most affinity with the metopes of that building, which were, as we have seen, among its earlier portions.

The external sculpture of the Theseum is confined to the ten metopes on the east front of the temple, and the four adjoining metopes on the north and south sides—eighteen in all. The rest of the metopes were never sculptured; it is impossible to tell whether they were decorated with painting. There are also said to be indications that the pediments once contained sculpture; but this has now completely disappeared. The metopes are in Parian marble, not Pentelic—an indication that they belong to a time before the completion of the Parthenon had indicated the native material as worthy of the highest use in sculpture as well as architecture. They have unfortunately suffered so severely from the weather that in many cases it is barely possible to make out the subject and composition: Stuart's drawings, made towards the end of the last century before the damage had gone so far, are a great help in this. The ten metopes of the east front are devoted to nine of the labours of Heracles, that against Geryon being divided between two metopes in a single composition—a probably unique and not very successful experiment; those omitted are the Stymphalian birds, the stables of Augeas, and the bull—the first two doubtless because of the difficulty of their adequate representation, the third because its subject is practically repeated among the eight labours of Theseus, which are represented on the metopes of the north and south sides. Of these Stuart's drawings give us a fair notion, though they also have suffered much since his day. The contests between Theseus and the various robbers or monsters against whom he fought showed him as a skilled athlete, making use of all the devices of the palaestra in his struggles with the brute force of his adversaries (Fig. 66). It is most instructive, for example, to compare the skilful way in which Theseus here masters the Marathonian bull (Fig. 67) with the treatment of the similar subject in the Olympian metope, where Heracles simply throws his weight against the bull's and overpowers it. The execution seems to have the dry and somewhat hard technique that we have learnt to associate with the schools of Critius and of Myron, and

which we recognised in some of the Parthenon metopes also ; and the Theseum metopes resemble the less advanced among the metopes of the Parthenon in their extraordinary boldness of composition, sometimes almost transgressing the bounds of sculptural fitness in the pursuit of life and vigour.

The continuous friezes of the Theseum are over the prodomus and opisthodomus, within the peristyle, in the position occupied by the corresponding portions of the continuous frieze of the Parthenon ; but, unlike that frieze, they are in high relief. The western, which stretches only across the breadth



FIG. 66.—Metope of Theseum ; Theseus and Cercyon (after *Mon. Inst.*, X. xliv. 2).

of the temple, not that of the peristyle also, represents a combat of Greeks and centaurs. The composition of this frieze is obviously due to an artist who is used to the designing of metopes, and who repeats the concentrated groups of two combatants adapted to the metope form, only connecting them loosely by the aid of additional figures who often seem superfluous to the action. Here again the resemblance to the Parthenon metopes is obvious ; it is not, however, necessary to infer, as some have done, that the Theseum frieze was made in imitation of those metopes ; it seems a sufficient explanation, if we suppose the sculptor to have drawn on a conventional store

of subjects adapted to treatment in the metope form. In some cases, however, he introduces a type unsuited to so limited a field; for instance, the invulnerable Caeneus, half buried by the huge stones which a centaur on either side piles over him, while other Lapiths, advancing to his relief, extend the scene in a manner more adapted to continuous treatment.

The eastern frieze stretches across the breadth of peristyle as well as cella, and we have already noticed¹ how the architectural conditions thus produced have influenced the composi-



FIG. 67.—Metope of Theseum; Theseus and Bull (after *Mon. Inst.*, X. xliii. 2).

tion of the frieze, a seated group of divinities being placed over each of the antae, as if to continue upwards the supporting member by a solid and restful effect. Outside these groups, over the peristyle, is a group in comparatively gentle action, such as the binding of a prisoner; while in the middle portion of the frieze is a wild scene of combat, Greek warriors fighting opponents who hurl huge stones against them. The combat cannot be identified with certainty; a probable suggestion identifies it as the fight between the Athenians and the wild inhabitants of Pallene. If so, both the friezes, as well as the metopes, would represent combats in which the Attic hero

¹ P. 41.

Theseus was distinguished. Here again we see the same vigorous, almost exaggerated and distorted, action that characterises all the sculpture of the Theseum, and marks it as the product of that school of Attic artists which was especially devoted to athletic subjects; but in this eastern frieze we also see bold foreshortenings, especially in the fallen figures, which are avoided in the Parthenon, but recur on the frieze of the temple of the Wingless Victory.

The frieze of this little temple has some resemblance in subject also to the west frieze of the Theseum. It is less than eighteen inches in height; some blocks of it are *in situ* in the rebuilt temple; others were brought by Lord Elgin to England. On the east front is an assembly of gods, on the other three sides battle scenes, Greeks against Persians on the north and south sides, and Greeks against Greeks on the west; in this last scene most authorities see a reference to the battle of Plataea, in which the Athenians were engaged mostly with the Thebans and other Greek allies of Persia. The age of the temple is not exactly known, but it is probably not far removed in date from the Parthenon; the style of the sculptures seems rather later, with its effective use of floating drapery to fill the vacant spaces of the field.

The temple stands on a little platform, around which was placed a balustrade, probably, to judge from the style of the sculptures which ornament it, not long before the end of the fifth century. On each of the three principal sides of this balustrade was a seated figure of Athena, and the rest of the field is occupied with winged Victories, who are mostly employed in erecting and decking trophies, leading cows to sacrifice, or performing other tasks in honour of their mistress. Those figures are wonderfully graceful in proportions and in attitude; but it is above all in the marvellous study of the texture and folds of almost transparent drapery, now clinging to the beautiful figures of the Victories, now floating in rich folds across the field of the relief, that the character of the work is seen (Fig. 68). We have already seen the perfect skill and delicacy with which such drapery was rendered in the Parthenon pediments: here the sculptor has gone even beyond that perfection, and however much we may wonder at his skill and at the beauty of the figures he has made, we can perhaps recognise in his work the germs of that over-elaboration and even affectation in the

treatment of drapery to which Attic work had always a tendency unless it was checked by severer influence. We shall see a further development of this tendency in the often graceful,



FIG. 68.—Victory binding sandal, from Balustrade (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

but conventional and imitative character of the Neo-Attic reliefs.¹

The Erechtheum was, next to the Parthenon, the most conspicuous temple of Athens, and was even more than the Parthenon the centre of Athenian worship. With the delicate

¹ See § 77.

refinement of its architectural ornament we are not here concerned. Two kinds of sculptural decoration were employed on it, in the Ionic frieze over the north and east porticoes, and in the Caryatids which carried the Pandroseum in its south-western corner. The frieze is mainly interesting as a curious experiment in the technique of relief. The figures, which are carved in moderate relief in Pentelic marble, were affixed to a background of black Eleusinian stone, which thus served as a substitute for the coloured ground often used in reliefs. As a natural result, though many of the figures are preserved, their order and arrangement are lost, and even the subject that they represented can no longer be identified. We do not know their exact date; all we know is that the Erechtheum was begun, and was left in an unfinished state for many years; and that in the year 409 B.C. it was again taken in hand and completed. The Caryatids (Fig. 69), or, as they are called in the official terminology of the Erechtheum inscriptions, the Maidens, are the best-known example in Greek architecture of the substitution of the human figure for a column as the support of an entablature, which, however, is here specially lightened by the omission of the frieze, so that the burden may not appear too heavy for its bearers. The neck, too, which is in appearance the weakest portion of the human figure, is strengthened by closely-fitting bands of hair, and a light, basket-like capital is placed upon the heads of the figures. These maidens are really like Canephoroi, basket-bearers, who had a place in the sacrificial procession, and delighted in the task that did honour alike to themselves and to the goddess. Their rich festal drapery and the simple severity with which it is treated fit them peculiarly for the place they occupy; and the elasticity of their pose obviates the impression that their burden is heavy, and gives an apparent stability to the whole composition, as each has the knee nearest to the middle of the structure bent, and thus there is an apparent inward thrust throughout. One can at once realise the value of this arrangement if one imagines any one of the Caryatids on the right side to change places with the corresponding figure on the left. One of these Caryatids is now in the British Museum; the rest—some of them in a fragmentary state—are *in situ* in the restored Pandroseum.¹ The question whether it

¹ The Erechtheum was greatly damaged during the siege of 1827. The Pandroseum was restored to its present state in 1845.

is fitting to substitute a human figure for an architectural support is open to difference of opinion; but there is no doubt that, if it is done, the effect depends on the artistic skill and feeling with which the figure is treated, and the modification of the architectural surroundings to harmonise with the new conditions. In this respect the Caryatids of the Erechtheum compare most favourably with other examples, ancient and modern, of the same bold experiment.

The great public buildings executed under the administration of Pericles and the artistic direction of Phidias must have gathered together a great body of artists and craftsmen in Athens; and we find their work not only in great public monuments like those we have so far considered, but in state documents and inscriptions, which at this period are often furnished with a symbolical relief at their head, and even on minor dedications and memorials set up by private individuals. Of these last the largest and most interesting class consists of the funeral monuments, which will be considered later, since they mostly belong to the fourth



FIG. 69.—Caryatid, from Erechtheum
(British Museum).

century.¹ But all combine to show how wide-spread was the artistic influence which found its highest expression in the sculpture decorating the public buildings of Athens. Thus, if the inscription recorded a treaty between Samos



FIG. 70.—"Mourning Athena" (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

and Athens, the tutelary deities of the two states, Hera and Athena, were represented greeting one another in the relief at the top. Numerous examples of such symbolism could be quoted. Among the most interesting of these minor reliefs is one (Fig. 70) recently found built into a wall on the Acropolis, which represents Athena standing with her head bent down, and lean-

¹ See § 51.



FIG. 71.—Relief from Eleusis (Athens, National Museum).

ing on her spear, as if in mourning, while in front of her is a plain slab like a stela, on which a decree or a list of names might be inscribed. It has been suggested with much plausibility that the goddess is represented as mourning over a list of some of her chosen warriors who have fallen in battle. The period of this relief is probably about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Its severe style and the stiffness of the folds of the lower part of the drapery may seem earlier. But we must always expect such productions of minor art to be behind the attainments of the greater masters of the same age. There is a simplicity and directness about this figure and its apparent significance which rarely fail to impress and to delight all who see it. Another (Fig. 71), perhaps the most noble of all dedicatory tablets, is a great relief from Eleusis, representing the great goddesses Demeter and Persephone, with a boy, probably Triptolemus. The simple and severe style of this relief perhaps implies that it is as early as the middle of the fifth century, but it may well be somewhat later. So much restraint and simplicity, especially in the treatment of drapery, show us how completely the graceful and ornate tendency, which we saw in early Attic art, and which we recognised again in a work like the balustrade of the Victories, was sometimes overpowered by a reaction towards a severer and nobler style. A study of these two extremes leads us to a better appreciation of that golden mean which we see realised, above all, in the sculpture of the Parthenon.

§ 37. *Scholars of Phidias*—*Agoracritus, Colotes, Theocostmus, Alcamenes*.—We have already seen something of the architectural sculptures which were executed under the supervision of Phidias, and which now serve better than anything else to give us some notion of his style. The works which are attributed to his associates or pupils by ancient writers are for the most part of a different nature, and resemble the great statues from Phidias' own hand, of which we could only infer the character from inadequate copies or descriptions. The resemblance in some cases appears to have been so close that the attribution was actually disputed, and we more than once find a statue recorded by some authorities as the work of one of the pupils of Phidias, by others assigned to the hand of the master himself.

Agoracritus of Paros is said to have been the favourite pupil of Phidias. His fame depended chiefly on his reputed

authorship of the great marble Nemesis at Rhamnus, one of the best-known statues in the ancient world. Many strange and incredible stories are told about this work, some of which need only be mentioned, while others require careful criticism. It was said that the Persians brought with them a block of Parian marble to Marathon, in order to make from it a trophy for their victory over the Athenians; and that after the battle the Athenians made from this block a statue of Nemesis, as a warning against the "pride that goeth before a fall." The proximity of Marathon to Rhamnus, and the obvious appropriateness of this story, are probably responsible for its invention by some seeker after a subject for an epigram. An even more absurd story is that the statue was originally sent in by Agoracritus in a competition with Alcamenes for the statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens at Athens, and that after his defeat he disposed of it to Rhamnus as Nemesis. We must give more weight to the statement, quoted from Antigonus of Carystus, that the inscription Ἀγοράκριτος Πάριος ἐποίησε was inscribed on a tablet attached to the statue, though Pausanias, who gives a detailed description of the Nemesis, knows nothing of this, and simply attributes the statue to Phidias himself. Nor can we ignore the tradition, repeated on many sides, that Phidias really made the statue, but conceded to his favourite pupil Agoracritus the credit of its design. The simplest inference is that Agoracritus adhered so closely to the manner of his master, and copied his style with so great success, that ancient critics had great difficulty in distinguishing his work from that of Phidias himself. It is, indeed, probable enough that Phidias may have assisted his pupil in the design of so great a work; but the inscription recorded by Antigonus can hardly be apocryphal, and would certainly imply that the statue was really made by Agoracritus. The officials at Rhamnus may well have destroyed or concealed such a record, in their wish to claim a more distinguished authorship for the statue that was the chief pride of their town.

Although this statue, from the less precious nature of its material, had more chance of preservation than most of the other great works of Phidias and his associates, it has been destroyed, with the exception of some insignificant fragments now in the British Museum,¹ and the remains of the relief which

¹ *Mittheil. Ath.* 1890, p. 64.

decorated its pedestal, now in the National Museum at Athens.¹ We are therefore again mainly dependent on the description of Pausanias. The goddess was represented as standing, of colossal size, about 15 feet high; on her head was a crown decorated with what Pausanias describes as small Victories and stags—evidently representations of the oriental winged Artemis, holding stags in her hands as *πότνια θηρῶν*,² who was probably identified by the Greeks with the goddess of Rhamnus. In her left hand she holds a branch of apple, in her right a bowl wrought with figures of Ethiopians. On the pedestal was represented a subject from the myth of Helen, who was said to be the daughter of Nemesis, Leda being only her foster-mother; the principal figures were these three, surrounded by Tyndareus and various heroes of the Trojan war. The style of the portions of this relief which have been found shows a grace of design and delicacy of execution not unworthy of the highest period of Attic art; but they seem to lack the breadth and simplicity which distinguish the sculpture of the Parthenon. Another work attributed to Agoracritus by some authorities, the statue of the Mother of the Gods at Athens, was by others assigned to Phidias. This statue apparently established the type under which the goddess was worshipped, at least at Athens; she was seated, with a cymbal in her hand, and lions beneath her throne; but late reliefs,³ which repeat this type, cannot give much notion of the statue. Another work of Agoracritus, in bronze, was the statue of Athena Itonia set up in the common meeting-place of the Boeotians at Coronea; beside this was also a statue described by Pausanias as Zeus, but identified as Hades by Strabo, who is apparently better informed, and knows of some mystical reason for the association.

Colotes was another of the most intimate associates of Phidias; he was apparently not an Athenian, though the country of his origin was disputed. He is said to have assisted Phidias in making the great statue of the Olympian Zeus. He also made a table of gold and ivory at Olympia, on which the wreaths for the victors used to be laid; this table was decorated with reliefs

¹ *Jahrb.* 1894, Pl. i.-vii. (Pallat).

² According to the ingenious explanation of Dümmler in *Studniczka*, Kyrene, p. 106, n. 102.

³ See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 45-48.

like those that ornamented the pedestals of Phidias' great statues; on the front was an assembly of gods, extending round to the two sides, on which were minor deities; at the back was represented the ordering of the festival. The same precious materials were used in a statue of Athena at Elis, attributed by Pliny to Colotes, by Pausanias to Phidias; the inside of the shield was painted by Panaenus, the brother of Phidias, who also contributed the paintings to the throne of the Olympian Zeus; and in Cyllene, a port of Elis, was an Asclepius by Colotes, again of gold and ivory.¹ Colotes also appears in Pliny's miscellaneous list at the end of the bronze-workers as one of those who made "philosophers," probably a cant term for portrait statues in civil garb.

Theocosmus of Megara does not appear to have been so closely associated with Phidias as the two sculptors we have just considered. He was employed to make the statue of Zeus in the Olympieum at Megara, which has already been quoted in the *Introduction* (b, 1) as giving us useful information about the technique of gold and ivory statues. The statue was left unfinished, owing to the straits into which the city fell at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (432 B.C.); the head only was completed in gold and ivory; the rest was in clay and plaster; and behind the temple lay the half-finished wooden framework intended to be covered with gold and ivory for the completion of the statue. No doubt the artist made first his full-sized model in clay and plaster, and when the work had to be abandoned after the head only was finished, this model itself was substituted for the precious materials which it was found impossible to provide. Phidias was said to have assisted Theocosmus in the design of this statue; whether this be true or not, it certainly appears from its character to have belonged to the series of great temple statues made under the direct influence of Phidias, if not by his pupils. Above the head of Zeus, presumably on the back of his throne, were the Hours and the Fates; the same position was occupied by the Hours and the Graces on the Olympian throne. If Theocosmus, when a young man, fell under the influence of Phidias, we find him in a very different connection thirty years later, when he was one of the sculptors employed

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 344, says, "ἐλεφαντίνον" only; but this is his usual description of chryselephantine works; e.g. of the Athena Parthenos, ix. p. 396, and the Zeus at Olympia, viii. p. 353.

to make the great dedication offered by the Spartans and their allies at Delphi after the crushing defeat of Athens at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. His colleagues in this work belonged to the school of Polyclitus, and his share was the statue of Hermon, a naturalised Megarian, who was the steersman of Lysander's ship. The inveterate enmity of Athens to Megara, which had compelled him to abandon the completion of his chief work, may well have led to his later association with the rival school of sculpture in the Peloponnese.

Alcamenes, who occupies the first place among the reputed pupils of Phidias, has been reserved to the end, partly because he appears to have been amongst the youngest of them, partly because his relation to Phidias is not quite so clear and direct as that of some others. And in any case, his artistic eminence and independent fame entitle him to a separate treatment. It must, however, be admitted that, with the possible exception of the sculptures of the West Pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, we cannot say with certainty that we possess, either in the original or in a copy, any of the statues that are assigned to him by ancient writers,¹ so that we are reduced in his case also, as in those of Calamis and Pythagoras, to inferences from the literary evidence, in any attempt to estimate his artistic character and his position in the history of sculpture. We have already seen, in discussing the Olympian pediments, that there are difficulties in the way of accepting the statement of Pausanias that they were made by Paeonius and Alcamenes respectively; and even if we do not regard these difficulties as insuperable, they are so serious that it is wiser to keep the pediments separate, and not to make them the starting point in our study of the works of the two artists to whom they are assigned. Alcamenes was, according to some accounts, a Lemnian, but he worked mostly in Athens, and in a contest with the Parian Agoracritus, he is actually said to have been preferred to a foreigner by his fellow-Athenians. His most famous work was the Aphrodite in the Gardens, which was said by some to have received its finishing touches from Phidias himself, and was reckoned by many as one of the most beautiful statues in the world; in the passage of Lucian, quoted in full

¹ It was only to be expected that an attempt would be made to assign certain extant works to Alcamenes; but no identification can be regarded as certain. See note at end of this section on the *Aphrodite in the Gardens*.

under Calamis,¹ this Aphrodite supplies to the ideal statue imagined by the critic "the round of the cheeks and front view of the face," "and the hands too and the beautiful flow of the wrist, and the delicately-shaped and tapering fingers shall be after the same model." When we remember that the other statues which were laid under contribution were the masterpieces of Calamis, Phidias, and Praxiteles, we realise that, at least for these features, Alcámenes must have been unsurpassed. Unfortunately we have no more detailed description of the posture or attributes of this statue to help us in identifying copies of it among extant works, though it is likely enough that copies may exist of so famous a statue.²

Alcámenes is said to have originated the type of Hecate known to us from so many reproductions, in which the goddess is represented by three figures set back to back, typifying her threefold aspect. It is probable that we may recognise in such figures not a modified and softened survival from primitive idols, but rather one of those mythological refinements in the subtle distinction of personalities such as we shall meet with in the next century: Alcámenes, in this way, seems to be the forerunner of Scopas. The statue of Hecate was set up on the bastion beside the temple of the Wingless Victory. Alcámenes also made several other well-known statues in Athens. One was the Dionysus, in gold and ivory, that was in the temple close by the great theatre. The foundations both of the temple and of the basis of the statue are still extant; and reproductions of the figure upon coins show that the god was represented as seated on a throne, holding a cup in one hand and a sceptre or thyrsus in the other.³ Of a statue of Ares made by Alcámenes we know nothing but that it stood in a temple of the god. His Hephaestus, also in Athens, is selected for praise by Cicero; the god was represented as "standing on both feet, and, with the help of the drapery, his lameness was slightly indicated, yet not so as to give the impression of deformity." It is natural to compare this statue with the limping Philoctetes of Pythagoras, whose pain seemed to make itself felt by those that saw him. The contrast gives us the essential difference between the moderation and reserve that mark the associates of Phidias,

¹ P. 233.

² See note at end of this section on the *Aphrodite in the Gardens*.

³ *Num. Com. on Paus.*, CC. 1-4.

and the powerful and even painful vigour of the earlier sculptors, who, in the first exuberance of freedom from archaic trammels, sometimes transgress the limits of artistic reticence and sobriety.

Another statue of a god by Alcamenes was an Asclepius, in a temple at Mantinea; he also made a colossal Athena and Heracles of Pentelic marble,¹ set up by Thrasybulus at Thebes, as a memorial of his starting from that city on the expedition which terminated successfully in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants in 403 B.C. This last commission gives us the latest date in the career of Alcamenes, and shows us that he was still in full artistic vigour at the end of the fifth century.² If he was also a pupil and even a rival of Phidias, according to a widely-spread tradition, his career must have been a long one, for even if we exclude the Olympian pediments from our consideration, we must still allow that he had already attained an eminent position before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Two statues of goddesses by Alcamenes are mentioned in connection with stories of an artistic competition. He is said to have made an Aphrodite which was preferred to that sent in by his rival Agoracritus, rather from the partiality of his fellow-Athenians than from the superiority of his work. We have already seen, in considering Agoracritus, the sequel of this same story, which tells how the defeated competitor disposed of his statue as Nemesis. Whether the Aphrodite in question was the goddess "of the Gardens" or not there is no evidence; but the identification seems probable, when we consider that this was the one work of Alcamenes said to have been made with the help of Phidias, and that the Nemesis also had the credit of the same assistance. Thus the story, whatever be its worth, seems to record a contest between two pupils of Phidias, each of them helped by their common master. There is yet another story of a competition between Alcamenes and Phidias himself, recorded

¹ Perhaps a relief, if we accept the simple emendation, ἐπὶ τύπου λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλης; but the reading is doubtful.

² It has been maintained that this fact precludes the possibility of the employment of Alcamenes on the Olympian pediments. But he must in any case have been an old man when he worked for Thrasybulus; if he were as old as Sophocles when that poet produced the Philocetes, it would still be possible, though of course improbable, that he might have been employed sixty years before at Olympia.

by Tzetzes, on what authority we cannot tell. In this case the commission was for two statues of Athena, to be set up upon lofty columns;¹ and it is said that the work of Alcámenes, being graceful and delicate, pleased best before the two were mounted and in position, but Phidias had calculated all his effects and proportions for the height at which they were to be seen, and therefore, though his statue, with its parted lips and distended nostrils, did not look well close, it testified the skill of the artist by its fine effect when it was set up at a height. Though it is unlikely that there is any historical foundation for this story, it embodies a valuable piece of criticism, probably due originally to some one who was familiar with the works of both artists. It is well in accordance with what we know of Phidias, in whose colossal statues the application of principles of geometry and optics was indispensable; while Alcámenes is praised elsewhere for the delicacy of his work in detail.

Besides these statues of divinities, only one athlete is ascribed to Alcámenes, a bronze "pentathlus," who was called the *encriñomenos*, a word of which the exact meaning is hard to catch.² It should mean "entering a contest," or "being examined for qualification"; and so may have represented an athlete, presumably not in action, but standing so as to display himself to the best advantage. Being a competitor in the "pentathlum," he would be an "all-round" athlete, evenly developed in all parts of his body; and such a subject might well offer an opportunity for an ideal rendering of the athletic figure in its finest proportions and development. If we possessed this figure³ it would be interesting to compare it with the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, a statue of similar intent, with which it is probably about contemporary. We can hardly

¹ Statues set up "on columns" were not usual until Roman times, and it is most tempting to translate "above the columns," i.e. in the pediments of a temple, and even to refer this story to the two Athenas in the east and west pediments of the Parthenon. But this is best set aside as a possible, but not profitable speculation. Even if the story did refer to these two, it would have but little weight as to their real authorship, being clearly rhetorical in character.

² It is commonly rendered in German *mustergültig*, which seems to imply a translation "chosen as a model," ignoring the present tense. In other cases, such as *apoxyomenos*, *anadyomene*, etc., such present participles seem always to refer to some process the subject is undergoing in the representation, and this analogy should if possible be followed here.

³ It has been suggested that we may recognise it in a figure of a pentathlus, standing with the discus in his left hand. But he is evidently preparing for the throw, not merely standing before judges (see Overbeck, 3rd edition, I. p. 276).

doubt that the athletic type chosen by Alcamenes would be much lighter and more graceful, as opposed to the massive and powerful form preferred by Polyclitus. Nor is this contrast inconsistent with another drawn between the same two sculptors by Quintilian, who here couples Phidias with Alcamenes in his criticism. He praises Polyclitus for the beauty and laborious finish of his work, yet says it lacks that nobility of conception¹ which we find in Phidias and Alcamenes. All we learn from other criticisms is that Alcamenes was placed in the very highest rank among sculptors; by some second only to Phidias. He seems to have been the most original and the most versatile among his fellow-pupils. Being the youngest of them, and surviving his master by many years, he probably escaped to a great degree from the overshadowing influence which, in their case, led to their fame being practically absorbed in that of Phidias. He worked in gold and ivory, in marble, and in bronze; but, with the exception of the athlete just mentioned, his works represent gods, and a large proportion of them seem to have been temple statues. This fact seems to justify us in following the tradition of ancient writers, and classing Alcamenes among the pupils of Phidias.

In the fifth century the old images of the gods, which had hitherto been the chief objects of worship, came to be considered more and more inadequate, partly because the old mythological conceptions failed to satisfy any longer the more enlightened aspirations of the people, partly because the primitive idols contrasted too crudely with the wealth of sculptural offerings that surrounded them. In this crisis the art of sculpture came to the assistance of religion. We have already seen the incalculable influence of works like the Zeus and Athena of Phidias, in raising and ennobling the religious conceptions of the many, and in reconciling the few to the old forms which they might else have been inclined to reject. The numerous temples and various divinities of Greece demanded many such embodiments of the religious conception belonging to a particular shrine, and the pupils of Phidias seem to have set themselves especially to meet the need. In doing this they often followed their master so closely that their separate existence was almost forgotten;

¹ It may seem strange to translate *pondus* in this way, but the contrast shows that this must be the meaning, which is in accordance with the Latin use of *gravitas*, etc.

but it was no small achievement for them to have produced a series of great statues which were deemed worthy of attribution to the greatest of Greek sculptors. If Phidias founded no definite school which extended beyond the lifetime of those who had actually worked with him, this was chiefly because his influence was more personal in character, and imparted lofty ideals and noble conceptions of the gods, rather than any systems of style and proportion, or skill in particular kinds of technique. But here and there in later times we shall come across other artists who seem to draw their inspiration directly from Phidias; and though we cannot class them also as his pupils, they serve to show that the power of his example remained, and that his great statues retained their position in the reverence and affection of Greece, even after the art of sculpture had turned aside to follow new methods and different aims.

Note on the Aphrodite in the Gardens.—A statue of Aphrodite, of very delicate and refined style, clothed in a transparent, clinging drapery, exists in several copies; the best known is that in the Louvre. It is generally called Venus Genetrix, because it appears on coins which have been brought into relation with the statue made by Arcesilaus for the Julian family (see § 78). But the type occurs earlier—for example in terra-cottas from Asia Minor,—and thus it appears that Arcesilaus, like his contemporary Pasiteles, adopted types from earlier artists, which he reproduced in their general character, while adding to them the impress of his own manner and execution. It is therefore legitimate, without refusing to assign this work to Arcesilaus, to look for the famous earlier statue which he reproduced. Furtwängler and others identify it as the Aphrodite in the Gardens of Alcamenes. The identification is a tempting one, but lacks definite evidence. The statue is just what one would imagine the work of Alcamenes to be like, yet it may perfectly well be something else. In fact this identification stands on much the same ground as the attribution of the "Apollo on the Omphalos" to Pythagoras; it is worth recording as a conjecture, and as an indication of the impression produced by the literary evidence, but cannot be inserted as a piece of verified information. More detailed consideration is therefore reserved here, as in the case of the works of Pasiteles, for the section concerning the sculptor from whom the extant copies are derived.

§ 38. *Scholars of Calamis and Myron, and other Attic Sculptors.*—*Praxias* the Athenian, a pupil of Calamis, began the sculpture in the pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which were completed after his death by Androstheneis. We know nothing of this sculpture except its subject—Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, with the Muses, in the eastern pediment, and Dionysus and the Thyiades in the western. Here we see again the principle of contrast, which we have already noticed elsewhere, between the

quiet and stately subject on the front of the temple, and the rout of bacchantes at the back. And the setting sun on one pediment, presumably balanced by the rising chariot of the moon at the opposite corner, recalls the rising sun and setting moon in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, and may even have suggested that splendid device for filling the extremities of the triangular field, and at the same time giving appropriate surroundings to the central subject. Unfortunately the French excavations have not led to the recovery of any remains of these pediments, which must have been entirely destroyed or removed. It seems natural to connect the employment of Attic artists upon the temple at Delphi with its rebuilding by the Attic family of the Alcmaeonidae, who supplied a front of marble when they only contracted for stone; they may have added also the sculpture that adorned the pediments and metopes. In any case it hardly seems likely that a pupil of Calamis would have been employed to decorate a temple like that of Delphi, after the pre-eminence of Phidias and those that worked under him at Athens had been acknowledged; and so we must probably assign these pediments to the first half of the fifth century. Both the pediments and the metopes, which contained scenes from a gigantomachy and exploits of Heracles and Perseus, are referred to in the Ion of Euripides. But this does not necessarily imply that they had been recently erected when the play was brought out; though the credit Athens gained by their presentation to the temple may have induced an Attic poet to dwell upon them.

Lycius, the son and pupil of Myron, seems to have followed in his father's steps. His date is established by an inscription on the basis crowning one of the two buttresses that form the extremities of the wings of the Propylaea at Athens. Pausanias saw the equestrian statues that stood on these buttresses, but, by a strange misunderstanding, connected them with the sons of Xenophon. His mistake was explained by the discovery of the inscription, which records a dedication made by the Athenian knights from the spoil of their enemy in a victory gained under the leadership of Xenophon (of course not the historian¹) and others; the name had evidently caught the eye of Pausanias, and he had made a note of it without reading the

¹ It is tempting to suggest that it was his grandfather; if so, the talent of Xenophon as a cavalry general would be hereditary.

whole inscription. Below comes the artist's signature, Λέκιος ἐποίησεν Ἐλευθερεὺς Μύρωνος. If the statues were first set up on these buttresses, they would necessarily be either contemporary with the building of the Propylaea (437-432 B.C.), or else later. But the inscription on the basis is re-cut, on the other side and the other way up, in slightly later characters; and this seems to prove that the statues were originally dedicated a few years earlier, probably about the middle of the century, and were later transferred to these buttresses. The date thus gained is of especial interest as deciding beyond dispute the period of Myron himself; but we cannot well place that period much further back, and therefore we must class these statues among Lycius' earlier works.

A great group by Lycius, dedicated at Olympia, represented the combat between Achilles and Memnon.¹ It stood on a semicircular base, on either extremity of which stood the opposing champions. In the middle was Zeus, supplicated by Thetis and Eos, each on behalf of her own son. In the intermediate space were other famous heroes on the Greek and Trojan sides, opposed in pairs. This group reminds us irresistibly of the similar compositions made by Onatas of Aegina, one of them representing the heroes of the Trojan war, and even standing on a similar semicircular base. It seems a fair inference to trace Aeginetan influence in the more athletic side of Attic sculpture, as represented by Myron and his associates, and to suppose that, when Aegina lost its political independence, the tradition of its art survived in works like this of Lycius. The commission was given by the city of Apollonia in Epirus, as a dedication for a victory over the Abantes of Thronium.

Besides statues of Argonauts, of which we know nothing further, and a portrait of the athlete Autolyceus, whose beauty is celebrated in Xenophon's *Symposium*, Lycius made two statues of boys which have led to much discussion; one held a sprinkler for holy water, and was set up on the Acropolis, before the temenos of Artemis Brauronia; the other was blowing up with his breath a smouldering fire. It is impossible to separate this last from a similar work by Styppax of Cyprus,

¹ The subject is a favourite one with vase-painters, who mostly follow the version of Ictinus, and represent Zeus weighing the souls of the heroes in a balance, and deciding accordingly. We do not know whether Lycius adopted this form of the story.

which represented a slave roasting entrails, and at the same time blowing up the fire with his breath. This last slave is further identified as a favourite of Pericles, one of the skilled workmen employed on the buildings at Athens, who fell from a height and was injured so seriously that his life was despaired of, until Athena appeared in a dream to Pericles, and told him to make use of the herb Parthenium¹ as a remedy. As a thank-offering there was set up not only the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhus, of which the basis may still be seen *in situ* in front of one of the columns of the Propylaea, but also a portrait of the slave himself, in the attitude already described. It seems likely that two examples of so curious a subject, made by Lycius and Styppax respectively at about the same time, must have had some relation to one another; but it would be futile to conjecture exactly what that relation was. It is more instructive to note the characteristics of this little group of bronze statues, which belong to a class which has been quaintly but not inappropriately termed "religious genre." The subjects were evidently intended to interest, not only for their own sake, but also for the opportunity which they gave for the display of the artist's skill, yet they are dedicated to religious purposes, and one is actually a thank-offering for a deliverance. Perhaps, in this case, the nature of the subject was a device to justify the setting up of a statue to a slave within the sacred precinct, somewhat as, at the end of the previous century, a similar difficulty had been met in the case of Leana, the companion of Harmodius and Aristogiton. When her fortitude vindicated for her a statue on the Acropolis, which seemed to be precluded by her profession, Amphicrates had symbolically recorded her heroism, by representing her in the guise of a lioness, the beast whose name she bore. So too Styppax may have rendered this slave, under the guise of a minister attending the sacred fire on the altar.²

¹ Not what we call Parthenium, but a plant common on the Acropolis, and still used for healing purposes in the Levant; it is called *ἀνεμόχοτρο* or *erba di vento* (so Heldreich).

² The suggestion that this slave was represented as actually crouching before the feet of the Athena of Pyrrhus, and blowing up the fire on her altar, is untenable. The altar of Athena Hygieia is a large one at some distance in front of the statue; and the statue of the goddess is a dedication, not an object of worship. The long basis, on which it is suggested that the slave may have stood, is obviously an addition of much later date. These facts are incorrectly stated in almost all books on the subject.

Cresilas of Cydonia was a Cretan, but his association with Pericles, and the presence of some of his most famous works in Athens, make it natural to class him among the Attic artists.



FIG. 72.—Portrait of Pericles, probably after *Cresilas* (British Museum).

The basis of his portrait of Pericles has been found during the recent excavations on the Acropolis at Athens, and the work is doubtless the original from which are derived several extant copies, one of them in the British Museum (Fig. 72). This portrait, by its simple and severe treatment, especially in the modelling

of eyes and beard, shows the character of the fifth century ; and at the same time the nobility and ideal treatment of the face make one understand the words of Pliny applied to this work, "mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit."¹ It is not so much an accurate presentment of the features of Pericles that we have before us, as an embodiment and expression of the personality of the man who summed up in himself the glory and artistic activity of Athens in the fifth century ; there is no attempt to catch the minor details and more accidental traits of the individual, as in later portraits. The statue is dated by the inscription to about 440-430 B.C. ;² yet it shows no sign of advancing age in the face of Pericles, who is represented as in the full perfection of manhood.

Another statue by Cresilas, which has given rise to much discussion, is one described by Pliny as "a man wounded and fainting, in whom one can feel how little³ life is left." This work is by general consent identified with a bronze statue on the Acropolis at Athens, described by Pausanias, representing the Athenian general, Diitrephes,⁴ wounded with arrows ; a basis found on the Acropolis, recording Hermolycus the son of Diitrephes as the dedicator, and Cresilas as the artist, must almost certainly belong to this statue, and dates from about the middle of the 5th century. The basis is square, and has two square holes in it, lying in one of its diagonals, for fixing the statue, which must therefore have been represented in some unusual position. A figure of a warrior pierced with arrows, and staggering, with his feet some distance apart, is found on an Attic lecythus of about this period ; and it has been conjectured⁵ that it may represent the death of this same Diitrephes, which evidently caused a good deal of sensation at Athens from its peculiar circumstances. Of course considerable caution is necessary in recognising a copy of a contemporary statue on

¹ Perhaps translated from an epigram, ἀλλ' ἡ τέχνη καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἔχει· τοὺς εὐγενεῖς ἐτεύξεν εὐγενεστέρους, i.e. "the marvel of this art is, that it has added to the nobility of noble men" ; but, as H. Stuart Jones remarks, *nobilis* in Pliny usually means only "famous" ; so it may mean the skill of the artist "has added to the fame of famous men," by making their portraits.

² Δελρ. Ἀρχ. 1889, p. 36.

³ See H. S. Jones, No. 148, note.

⁴ Not as Pausanias supposed, the Diitrephes who is mentioned by Thucydides vii. 29 (413 B.C.), but an earlier man of the same name, perhaps the father of Nicostratus (iii. 75, etc.). So Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 123.

⁵ See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

a vase of this period; such a thing is very unusual, but the coincidences are strange if we do not suppose these various pieces of evidence to be connected. If we imagine the statue to have been in much the position we see in the figure on the vase—as is probable from the indications on the basis—it was certainly a *tour-de-force* in bronze technique; and in its curiously distorted attitude, and its representation of a man fighting to the verge of death, it reminds us of Myron's Discobolus and Ladas, and seems to show that Cresilas fell strongly under Myron's influence. Of other works of Cresilas we know nothing but the names; two more bases have been found with his name, one at Athens, belonging to a statue of Athena, another at Hermione, from a statue of Demeter Chthonia; he is also said to have made a Doryphorus¹ and a wounded Amazon—one of those in the famous Ephesian competition. These suffice to mark him as an artist of considerable variety as well as of high ideals and technical skill.

Strongylion is another artist of considerable fame and variety, of whose works we know but little. One of them which is often referred to represented, in bronze, a colossal figure of the wooden horse of Troy, with some of the Greek heroes looking out of it. The basis of this horse has been found on the Acropolis at Athens, and appears to date from a year not long before 414 B.C., when it is referred to in the *Birds* of Aristophanes: Strongylion is said to have been famous for his sculpture of horses and bulls; whence it has been conjectured that a bronze bull, dedicated near the horse on the Acropolis, was also by him. As to another work of his we have more satisfactory information. He made a statue of Artemis Soteira at Megara, of which a replica was set up at Pagae. The coins of these two towns show an identical figure of Artemis, at Pagae actually in a temple and on a basis; this must certainly be the statue made by Strongylion.² It was of bronze, and the coins show us that the goddess was represented as holding two torches, and in rapid motion. She wears a short chiton, girt round the waist and barely reaching to the knee, and high hunting boots—the regular dress of the huntress Artemis in late Greek art; indeed, it seems likely enough that we must attribute to Strongylion the creation of

¹ So only by a probable emendation; Pliny's MSS. ascribe the work to a Ctesilaus otherwise unknown.

² Imhoof and Gardner, *Num. Com. on Paus.*, Pl. A. 1.

this type, one of the most familiar in Greek mythology. If so, though we may not be able to identify any copy of his Artemis at Megara, we may see her more or less remote reflection in many well-known statues. Other works by Strongylion were a boy on a small scale, famous for the admiration felt for it by Brutus, an Amazon, who was called Eucnemus, or "of the beautiful shin"¹ (not one of those in the Ephesian competition), and three statues of Muses on Helicon. From these few facts we can infer neither the origin nor the school of Strongylion; he lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he worked for both Athens and Megara, we cannot assign him with certainty to any influence. He seems to have worked almost exclusively in bronze, and created a type which was of wide influence in later art; excessive admiration of his work was among the affectations of Roman amateurs.

Callimachus is an artist whom we have already seen coupled with Calamis, as an example of the graceful subtlety of Attic sculpture, in contrast to the grandeur and breadth of Phidias and Polyclitus. He, indeed, represents more than any other the direct succession of purely Attic art, which we traced to its culmination in Calamis before the reaction to a stronger and severer style under Doric influence. Callimachus is said even to have carried this refinement and delicacy so far as to be a fault; he is called *catatexitechnus*, the man who frittered away his art on details, and is said to have been so difficult to satisfy with his own work that the excessive and laborious finish which he gave it destroyed its beauty. In him some have seen, not without reason, the originator of those over-refined and affected works which later, as the Neo-Attic reliefs, occupied a prominent place in decorative art. Besides a statue of Hera at Plataea, we learn of only one work of sculpture by Callimachus, some dancing Laconian maidens, probably those who danced at the festival of Artemis at Caryae, and were called Caryatids; these must not be confused with the figures later called Caryatids in architecture.² Such dancing figures are not uncommon in later reliefs, and may be ultimately derived from the statues by Callimachus. We hear of him not only as a sculptor, but also

¹ She was presumably also on a small scale, since Nero had her carried about with him; but perhaps the eccentricities of that Emperor are beyond calculation. There is no sufficient ground for identifying any extant Amazon with this statue.

² These architectural figures were simply called *κόραι* in the fifth century.

as skilled in other branches of decorative and mechanical art; thus he made the lamp in the Erechtheum, which burned all the year round, and had a golden palm-tree to serve as chimney; and he is credited with the invention of the Corinthian capital—perhaps in error, as it is already found in the temple at Bassae; but Ictinus may have used there the invention of his fellow-Athenian. He is also said to have first used the drill in marble—that is to say, probably, the running drill for cutting the folds of drapery and other deep lines of modelling. In fact, his influence on later art and his mechanical and technical inventions distinguish him beyond his actual attainment in sculpture.

§ 39. *Attic influence outside Athens; Phigalia.*—The temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, near Phigalia, was one of the most famous in the Peloponnese,¹ alike for the magnificence of its position, and the beauty of its architectural forms and its sculptural decoration. It was built by the people of Phigalia in thanks to Apollo, to whom they attributed their immunity from a plague that ravaged the surrounding country during the Peloponnesian war. It has been disputed whether this was the great plague of 430 B.C., described by Thucydides, but said by him to have spared the Peloponnese, or another plague ten years later. Architectural and sculptural forms combine to confirm the attribution of the temple to this period.

The temple is of peculiar design, and shows us the freedom with which a great architect like Ictinus, who was employed on this temple as well as the Parthenon at Athens and the Hall of the Mysteries at Eleusis, dealt with the conventional plan of a Greek temple. At first glance the temple appears to be of the usual form, with pronaos and opisthodomus and surrounded with a peristyle, except that it faces north and south instead of east and west. But the interior of the building deviates strangely from the normal arrangement; it consists of a small cella at the south end, opening toward the east by a door in the long eastern side of the temple; here doubtless was the statue, facing east as usual. To the north of this cella is an open court, taking up all the rest of the building, and surrounded by attached Ionic columns, varied by one Corinthian, the earliest known, in the middle of the space between the cella and the court. Over

¹ Pausanias says it was second only to the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which was built by Scopas (see § 49).

these columns ran the continuous frieze of the temple, round the interior of the oblong court. Hence, unlike the friezes that usually surround the outside of a building, it was all visible from one point. Over the pronaos, at the north end, in a position similar to that occupied by the metopes at Olympia, were metopes, sculptured in high relief. Of these only comparatively insignificant fragments have been recovered. These, as well as the frieze, which is in a fine-grained Peloponnesian marble,¹ are now in the British Museum. The Phigalian sculptures were excavated in 1811, by a party of explorers, including the architect Cockerell; and were purchased by the British Government in 1814. Being added to the Elgin marbles, they make our national collection unrivalled for the study of architectural sculptures of the fifth century.



FIG. 73.—Slab from Phigalian frieze; Heracles (British Museum).

The subject of the frieze was divided into two parts, a battle of Greeks and Amazons and a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs, the former occupying two sides of the court, and one slab over, the latter filling the rest of the other two sides. As to the exact order of the slabs there is a good deal of uncertainty, but it seems clear that each of the short sides, north and south, had a group of especial interest, to afford a centre to the composition.

The battle with the Centaurs probably began at the south-west corner. To this subject belongs the group of Apollo and Artemis in a chariot; she drives, while he bends his bow

¹ From the quarries of Dolianá, near Tegea.

against the monsters. Perhaps the goddess is hastening to the help of those who, on the next slab, have taken refuge at her image. The Centauromachy continues all along this side, and turns the corner to the north, where it ends in the great group of which the invulnerable Caeneus is the central figure. We have already seen, in the case of the Theseum, how this theme lends itself to effective composition in a frieze. After the Caeneus group comes the beginning of the battle against the Amazons, which encroaches by one slab on the north side, while it fills the east and south sides entirely. In the middle of the south short side was Heracles, distinguished by his club and lion-skin; his opponent is presumably the queen of the Amazons (Fig. 73). The two combatants cross each other's paths and strike back at one another, thus making a balance in the composition, peculiarly suitable for figures that form the centre of a larger group. The effect is similar to that of Athena and Poseidon in the western pediment of the Parthenon.¹ The rest of the frieze is rich and varied in motion, full of imagination and originality of design, with here and there a group which is almost startling in its unconventionality; that, for instance, of a Centaur who bites one adversary in the neck, while he lashes out with his heels against another who holds his shield against this savage attack; or that of a Greek who tilts an Amazon off her horse by seizing her shoulder and her foot. The treatment of the nude is mostly vigorous and correct, especially in the male figures, and the athletic frames of the Amazons; but it is uneven in quality, and is particularly weak in the nude female form when exposed, as in the Lapith women. The drapery is remarkable; it is designed, though not always executed, with great skill and freedom, and floating masses of it are often used to fill vacant spaces in the field—a feature which we have already seen in Attic work of this period. But the extremely low relief of some portions shows a greater dependence on the help of colour, and a greater subjection to influence of pictorial method, than we often find in Athens itself; and there are some mannerisms peculiar to this Phigalian frieze—for example, the way in which the drapery of the short chiton is stretched across in horizontal folds between the knees.

All these characteristics of design and of execution, taken

¹ So A. H. Smith, *British Museum Catalogue*.

together, seem to show that the design is due to an Attic artist, as we should expect from the employment of Ictinus, the architect of the Parthenon. But the frieze does not appear to be the work of the same hands as the decorative sculptures which we see on the various buildings of Athens itself. Some of their excellences and defects, their superiority in rendering the male form, the mannerisms in the treatment of drapery, make it likely that local artists of Peloponnesian training were employed in the execution, under the general direction of an Attic master. In this way we can best explain the obvious affinities in design to works of the Attic school; while the pictorial and decorative elements, especially in the treatment of drapery, were naturally either exaggerated or inadequately mastered by the local artisans to whom they were unfamiliar. Here the internal evidence offered by the style is confirmed by literary authority; and so the Phigalian sculptures offer a clue to guide us when we meet with a somewhat similar character in other sculptures both in the Peloponnese¹ and in Asia Minor.²

§ 40. *Polyclitus*.³—Two names stand out beyond all others as representative of the sculpture of the fifth century—those of Phidias and Polyclitus. So far we have considered either works in which the influence of Phidias is predominant, or artists whom it is natural to associate with the school of which he was the most distinguished figure, if not the acknowledged head. But Athens in the fifth century shows no artistic exclusiveness; she seems rather, in claiming for herself a pre-eminence among the Greeks in the arts of peace, to have become to a certain extent representative, and to have absorbed into herself much of what was best in the work of her neighbours in addition to continuing her own earlier traditions. We have seen, in particular, how the monuments testify to a strong accession of Peloponnesian influence in the Attic art of the earlier part of the fifth century, and how tradition assigns Ageladas of Argos as a master to two of the greatest of Attic artists at this time. The third pupil accorded to Ageladas by tradition is Polyclitus, who succeeded him as the recognised head of the Argive school

¹ See p. 339.

² See p. 345.

³ The Greek Πολύκλειτος is transliterated Polycleetus by Cicero and Quintilian, hence the French Polyclète, the German Polyklet, and the form sometimes used by English scholars. But Polyclitus, the form used by Pliny, is probably more familiar to English readers. Cf. Clitus = Κλείτος in Shakespeare.

of athletic sculpture. The relation has in all three cases been disputed. Although we might have expected it to pass unchallenged in the case of Polyclitus, whose Argive origin and artistic connections seem to vouch for its historical truth, the difficulties due to the respective dates of the two sculptors are here so serious that they have led many to reject it as impossible. If, however, we admit that Ageladas accepted a commission as late as 455 B.C.,¹ there is no difficulty in supposing that Polyclitus—whose artistic activity falls entirely, so far as we know, within the last forty years of the fifth century—may have worked as a boy under his veteran predecessor. However this may be, he certainly accepted the tradition of the Argive school as it had been handed down by earlier sculptors and consolidated during the long life of Ageladas; and though he was regarded by later time as the first to introduce a system of athletic sculpture, and to establish a canon of proportions, it is difficult to tell how much of this he owed to his predecessors. But his great creative imagination, which enabled him to make a temple statue second only to those of Phidias, and his wonderful technical skill—in which he was considered by many to stand first among all the sculptors of antiquity,—gave him a position above all previous masters of the Argive school. What, however, was generally regarded as the most characteristic work of Polyclitus was the statue in which he embodied the ideal of bodily perfection, as conceived by the athletic schools of the Peloponnese in their earlier period—a statue which served, as it was intended, for a model to all later artists, and exercised as much influence on the bodily type of Greek sculpture as the Zeus of Phidias exercised on its religious ideals.

So far, it has been assumed without discussion that Polyclitus was an Argive. This statement, which rests on the highest authorities, would require no comment but for Pliny's assertion that he was a Sicyonian. The schools of Argos and Sicyon seem always to have been closely united; and the fact that their common centre was transferred to Sicyon in the fourth century suffices to account for the confusion. If, as we have seen reason to suppose, Polyclitus was employed on sculpture as early as the middle of the fifth century, we know nothing of the work of his earlier years. Presumably he devoted himself during this time to acquiring that knowledge

¹ See p. 192.

of the athletic human form which was the chief tradition of the Argive school, and to making the statues of athletes that formed its commonest product. His earliest recorded work is a statue of the Olympian victor Cyniscus, who won in the boys' boxing match; this may be assigned to about 440 B.C.¹ Other bases of athletic statues bearing the name of Polyclitus have been found at Olympia; but there were two artists of this name, and the younger and less famous is probably the one to whom these inscriptions must be assigned.² The two greatest works of the athletic type—both of which are preserved to us in various copies—were not intended as statues of any individual athletes, but rather as ideal embodiments of what an athlete should be. The one is known as the Diadumenus, because he is represented as a victor in the games, binding about his brow the fillet over which the wreath is to be placed; the other as the Doryphorus, because he holds in his left hand a spear sloped over his shoulder. This Doryphorus was also known as the Canon, because Polyclitus had embodied in it not only his conception of the male form in its most perfect development, but also the system of proportions which he adopted as normal. Indeed, he actually wrote a treatise which went by the same name as the statue, and the two were mutually illustrative of each other. Unfortunately, this statue, like all others that can be attributed to Polyclitus, is only preserved to us in copies of Roman period, which not only fail to enable us to realise the beauty of their original, but do not even preserve accurately the system of proportion embodied in the Doryphorus. The copies we possess vary to some extent among themselves, so that it is difficult for us to gather from them more than a general notion of the proportions adopted by the sculptor; while, on the other hand, they exaggerate some of the characteristics, especially the massive and heavy build, so as to produce an appearance of clumsiness which we cannot readily accept as belonging to the work of Polyclitus himself. We must, however, make the best of the evidence we possess, while making due allowance for its inadequacy. It must especially be remembered how much is lost in the translation from bronze into marble of the work of an artist who, in the art of finishing a bronze statue, is said to have surpassed all others, not excepting Phidias himself.

¹ Loewy, 50.

² See § 41.

The Doryphorus, or Canon, is preserved to us in several copies; the completest is that from Pompeii, now in the Naples museum (Fig. 74). It is, however, a heavy and mechanical copy, and can give us but little notion of the finish of Polyclitus' style, in which his chief excellence lay. A bronze copy of the head by the Attic artist Apollonius¹ at least reproduces the material of the original, and so may be expected to follow its technique; but it is a conventional work of the Augustan age, and is hardly more to be trusted. But all the copies, whatever their defects, agree so far that we can safely infer from them the physical type chosen by the artist, both for body and for face, and also the pose and general character of the statue. It represents a young man in the very prime of athletic condition, but remarkable rather for massive strength than for agility. All his muscles are strongly developed, though we must allow something here for the exaggeration of the late copyist; his head is large in proportion, about one-seventh of the total height, and its squareness of skull and rather heavy jaw imply that his athletic prowess is due rather to obstinate power of endurance than to quickness or versatility. Not that the Polyclitan Doryphorus shows any of that brutality which sometimes marks the professional athlete of later Greece; he represents a thoroughly healthy and evenly-developed type; and the deformed and swollen "boxer's ear," so conspicuous in Apollonius' head, does not appear in other copies, and is probably a modification introduced by the later artist.

Some faint reflection of the inimitable bronze technique of Polyclitus may be traced in extant copies of his best-known work. Perhaps the most accurate in this respect is the torso in the Pourtales collection at Berlin, which shows a remarkable treatment of the muscles of the body, unintelligible in marble, but easier to understand if we imagine it transferred to bronze.² Here, though the relief of the various muscles is less accentuated than in other copies, the lines of demarcation between them are more clearly and definitely indicated; there is less of that play of light and shade over the whole on which marble work depends for its effect; more of the evenly-curved surfaces, intersecting in definite lines, which in a metal statue reflect the light and bring out all the delicacies of the model-

¹ Collignon, I. Fig. 252.

² Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art*, I. Pl. 29, p. 2.



FIG. 74. Doryphoros, after Polyclitus (Naples).

ling. As to the treatment of the hair, all copies are pretty well in agreement; it lies close to the scalp, coming down low over the forehead, and is divided all over its surface into short waving tresses, which seem as if drawn on it, but never stand out separately in relief; it contrasts alike with the bronze hair of later art, standing out freely from the head, and that in the best copy of Myron's *Discobolus*,¹ in which the hair, rather than the separate tresses, is outlined in a harder line over the forehead, and is subdivided into more minute curls, clinging close but not waving, all over the head.

The other of Polyclitus' two famous athletic statues, the *Diadumenus*, is also preserved to us only in inadequate copies. Until recently, the most trustworthy of these were a statue from Vaison in France, now in the British Museum (Fig. 75), and a bronze statuette in the Louvre.² To these may now be added a head recently acquired by the British Museum, and placed beside the Vaison statue, and a statue discovered on Delos, which is perhaps the finest of all. The *Diadumenus* is represented as a victor in the games, binding about his head the sacred fillet over which the judge was to place the wreath. The position of the arms is much the same as in many statues and statuettes in which later sculptors delighted to represent *Aphrodite* binding her hair; and the motive of the artist is the same in both cases; it affords an excellent opportunity for displaying the symmetry and proportion of the arms and chest. Unlike the *Doryphorus*, who is slowly advancing, the *Diadumenus* is standing still; and thus, though the weight of the body here also is borne mainly by the advanced right leg, the poise of the figure is different; the centre of gravity is behind the right foot, instead of above it and on the point of advancing beyond it. It is evidently in subtle distinctions like this, and in the consequent modification of all the muscles and the whole pose of the statue, that the art of Polyclitus excelled; a comparison of the two works is the best possible comment on the monotony complained of by some ancient critics. Even in

¹ See p. 237.

² The Farnese *Diadumenus* in the British Museum is clearly so far modified as to be useless for style, though ultimately derived from Polyclitus' statue; the same remark applies to the terra-cotta statuette published in *J. H. S.*, Pl. lxi., also in the British Museum: the modification in this case is Praxitelean, though it may be doubted whether the copy is the work of an ancient or of a modern artist.



FIG. 75. —Diadumenus from Vaison, after Polyclitus (British Museum).

copies it is possible to appreciate to some extent the refinement and delicacy of their differentiation; if we possessed the originals, it would doubtless be far more admirable. Of other athletic statues by Polyclitus we have nothing but the name recorded; one is described by Pliny as an athlete using the strigil, *destringentem se*, and is interesting for the identity of its subject with the "Apoxyomenus" of Lysippus, which was intended as a rival to Polyclitus' Canon.¹

It was, however, not only in athletic sculpture that Polyclitus excelled. His great gold and ivory statue of Hera in the Heraeum near Argos was recognised as the visible embodiment of the goddess, and is mentioned as a worthy counterpart to the Olympian Zeus of Phidias. Indeed, Strabo goes even further, and says that the Argive statue excelled all others in its art, though the works of Phidias were more costly and on a larger scale. Such a criticism is probably based on the work of some writer unduly partial to the Argive school, and would hardly be endorsed by modern opinion, if we possessed the statues to which it refers. We can, however, safely infer that Polyclitus excelled in the ideal representation of divine power and beauty; but the type of Hera, in Greek mythology, is a less sublime and intellectual conception than that of Zeus or Athena, and for this reason more adapted to the limitations of the Argive school. Hera in the Argive ceremonies was especially worshipped as the bride who yearly renewed her virginity; and it was thus, probably, that Polyclitus represented her. She was enthroned, with a pomegranate in one hand, in the other a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the bird in likeness of which Zeus was said to have shown himself to Hera. On her head was a crown, decorated with figures of the Graces and the Hours. In short, she was represented as the bride and consort of Zeus—the perfect type of youthful womanhood—a conception that gave full scope to the study of perfection in physical form and dignity of type which belonged especially to the Argive tradition. We may obtain some notion of what this type was like from the contemporary coins of Argos and of Elis, which, however, must not, like Roman coins, be taken as copies of the work of Polyclitus, but rather as the die-cutter's conception of the type of Hera which found its most perfect expression in the work of Polyclitus. The statue was made

¹ See p. 407.

immediately after the fire which consumed the Heraeum in 422 B.C.

As to other statues of gods by Polyclitus, we know nothing for certain beyond the names; they were a Zeus Meilichius—the god of atonement—at Argos, set up after a massacre in 418 B.C., and made of white marble;¹ a Hermes in Lysimachia, which must have been moved from elsewhere; a Heracles, moved to Rome, and an Aphrodite at Amyclae, supporting a tripod set up after the battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.). In most of these cases, as in some others, there is the possibility of doubt whether the work should be attributed to the elder or the younger Polyclitus; a similar doubt exists in the case of a group of marble, representing Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, on Mount Lycone near Argos.² The two artists were evidently not clearly distinguished from one another in antiquity; and, if we had not the evidence of inscriptions to help us, we should find it very difficult to keep them apart.

As to another work of Polyclitus, his Amazon, we have more evidence; and it will be well to include here a brief notice of the set of statues of Amazons to which it belongs; they are best treated together, and Polyclitus is the only artist to whom one of them is attributed by a general consensus of opinion. Pliny says that there were certain Amazons dedicated in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a town said to have been founded by Amazons. These were by sculptors of different periods; but, in a competition of merit, decided by the artists themselves, Polyclitus was placed first, Phidias second, Cresilas third, and Phradmon, an Argive, of whom little else is known, fourth.³ Among statues of Amazons, of which many are preserved in our museums, there are some which clearly show the style of the fifth century. To omit minor variations or later modifications, there are three main types:—⁴

1. An Amazon, leaning with her left elbow on a pillar, her right hand resting on her head (Fig. 76); her chiton is fastened only on the right shoulder, leaving her left breast bare; on

¹ The material is strange for either the elder or the younger Polyclitus; the massacre may be wrongly identified. That the younger Polyclitus used marble is a mere assumption.

² Also attributed to the younger Polyclitus because of material. See last note; this is merely arguing in a circle.

³ Pliny says fifth, making Cresilas Cydon (the Cydonian) into two sculptors.

⁴ I follow here Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 14.

her right breast, just outside the edge of the drapery, is a wound.



FIG. 76.—Amazon, after Polyclitus (Rome, Vatican).

2. *The Capitoline type*.—An Amazon, with her right arm raised, leaning, probably on a spear (Fig. 77); her head is bent

down, her chiton is fastened on the left shoulder, it has been



FIG. 77.—Amazon, Capitoline type (Rome, Vatican).

unfastened from her right by her left hand, which still holds the drapery at her waist, so as to keep it clear of a wound below the

right breast; there is another wound above it; she wears also a chlamys.



FIG. 78.—Amazon Mattei (Rome, Vatican).

3. The so-called Mattei type (Fig. 78), representing not a wounded Amazon, but one using her spear as a jumping-pole to

mount her horse ; it is on her left side, and she grasps it with both hands, her right passing across over her head. Her chiton is fastened on the right shoulder, leaving the left breast bare, and it is curiously drawn up below so as to expose the left thigh.

These types very probably go back to the statues of Amazons in the temple at Ephesus, which gave rise also to Pliny's story. Pliny probably gives correctly the names of the artists to whom these statues were attributed ; beyond this his story is of little value, though it probably records, in a rhetorical form, the opinion of some ancient critic. We may, then, make use of the names he gives to help us in considering the extant statues of Amazons.

It is generally agreed that the original from which the extant statues of type (1) are derived must have been made by Polyclitus. Its excellences and its defects alike claim him as their author. The attitude recalling that of the Diadumenus, the squarely-made and vigorous form, the athletic type of the Amazon, who though female in sex, is male in modelling and in proportion, the resemblance of the head to that of the Doryphorus, with the squarely-shaped skull and heavy jaw, the absence of any expression of emotion or pathos, except of mere weariness of battle ; the absence of any adequate consideration of the modification necessitated by the wound in the position of the figure or its expression—all these are characteristics which we should expect to find in the work of the Argive master. With type (2) the case is not nearly so easy to decide. The whole character and type of the figure is softer and more womanly, and the wound and its effect upon the Amazon are never, even in details, lost sight of as the central motive of the whole figure. It might seem, as has been well said by Michaelis, that type (2) was consciously made as a protest against the inconsistencies of type (1). The type of the head is not dissimilar, but is entirely transformed by the pathos of the expression, as she looks at her wounds.

It is best to be cautious about the attribution of this second type.¹ Some attribute it to Phidias, others, as confidently,² to Cresilas, appealing to the designation of his work as the wounded

¹ The Capitoline Amazon has the name of Sosicles inscribed on it. But he is only the copyist ; the same type is repeated elsewhere, e.g. in the statue in the Vatican (Fig. 77).

² So Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 286.

Amazon; the wound is certainly the leading motive in his statue, and is not mentioned in other cases. Yet it is certainly present,¹ though not allowed to form the leading motive, in the Amazon of Polyclitus. All that seems certain is that we see here a fifth-century type, by an artist who prefers womanly grace to athletic and almost virile character and proportion, even in an Amazon; and who, when he introduces a wound into the statue, does not treat it as an accessory, but modifies the whole conception to suit it. As a result, the spectator may indeed be said "almost to feel her pain," as was said of the Philoctetes of Pythagoras; but, without more certain standards of comparison, it would be rash to say definitely who was the author of this Amazon.

As to the third type (Mattei), even more doubt is possible; indeed, it is by no means certain that it belongs to the same period as the other two; the way in which the drapery is drawn up to show the modelling of the left thigh reminds one of a similar device in the Artemis of Versailles, and is not adequately explained by the position, any more than the drapery of the Aphrodite of Melos; the slim and graceful proportions of the figure also suggest a later period. We cannot, however, assign her with confidence to any later artist, though her extreme grace is in favour of a Hellenistic origin.² Perhaps, however, so late an attribution must be given up, especially in view of the simpler character of the example at Petworth,³ which, however, seems to belong to the fourth rather than the fifth century.

§ 41. *Scholars of Polyclitus.*—As the artistic activity of Polyclitus falls in the latter part of the fifth century, his scholars, as was to be expected, mostly fall into the next period; but we have such scanty information about most of them, apart from their relation to their master, that it seems best to include most of them here, especially as the great

¹ Michaelis (*loc. cit.*) refutes Overbeck's suggestion that the wound was introduced here from the Capitoline type.

² Winckelmann identified the Mattei Amazon as Strongylion's *εύκρημος*; but it should rather be *εὐμηρος*.

Furtwängler suggests that this third type is that of Phidias, a theory which will hardly gain in acceptance by his additional conjecture that the Herculanean bronze head belongs to this type. That head has been generally recognised as Polyclitan in origin; the head of the Mattei Amazon does not belong to it, but to a copy of the Capitoline type.

³ *Jahrb.* 1886, Pl. 1.

common work on which many of them were engaged was the group set up by the Spartans in commemoration of the victory at Aegospotami in 405 B.C. Of many of them we know little more than the name; the most interesting group is the family of Patrocles, who was perhaps the brother of Polyclitus. Two of his sons were Naucydes and Daedalus.¹ To these must be added the younger Polyclitus, who is described by Pausanias as the brother of Naucydes. He was also the pupil of Naucydes, and worked in the first half of the fourth century. Another pupil of Naucydes was Alypus. Of most of these sculptors we know little beyond the fact that they made statues of athletic victors—the stock subject of the Argive and Sicyonian schools. Naucydes also made a Discobolus, a Hermes, and a man sacrificing a ram, commonly, but without much reason, identified with a statue of Phrixus on the Acropolis at Athens; a basis with his name has been found there. He also made a portrait of the Lesbian poetess, Erinna—probably one of those ideal portraits of famous men and women of old time that later became common. His brother Daedalus too produced what we may call athletic *genre* as well as athletic portraits—boys scraping themselves with the strigil. Naucydes worked with Polyclitus the elder in the Heraeum, and made a Hebe of gold and ivory as a pendant to the great statue of Hera; other statues of gods are attributed to him, as well as to his pupil and younger brother, the younger Polyclitus, who worked in the first half of the fourth century.

The great group dedicated by the Spartans after Aegospotami reminds us of some of the earlier dedications from the spoils of the Persians, notably that made by Phidias after Marathon, which was also erected at Delphi, and was also of bronze. The subject was an assembly of gods, with Poseidon crowning the victorious admiral Lysander, in the presence of the leaders of the Spartan allies. Another somewhat similar but smaller group was dedicated by the Tegeans, after a victory over the Spartans in 369 B.C.; it represented the Tegean heroes, and was made by Daedalus of Sicyon, with Aristophanes and others. These bare enumerations suffice to show how numerous and

¹ This rests on the authority of inscriptions, Loewy, 86, 88. Daedalus and Naucydes called themselves Sicyonians, the younger Polyclitus an Argive. The artistic relations of Argos and Sicyon were then close; and the centre of the school varied between the two.

influential was the school which owned Polyclitus as its master. Though statues of athletic victors are its most frequent theme, it produced many statues of the gods, and also great groups of historical and mythological figures, which seem to continue the tradition of earlier times and worthier occasions.

We might naturally expect to find that the sculptures of the Heraeum near Argos would bear the same relation to Polyclitus that we felt justified in claiming for Phidias in the case of the sculptors of the Parthenon. But it must be remembered that it was in single statues rather than in great decorative compositions that the Argive school excelled, and that we have no reason to suppose that Polyclitus was entrusted with the main direction of the works at Argos as Phidias was at Athens. Some of the sculptures of this temple have been known for some time; others were recovered in the recent American excavations.¹ Pausanias tells us that the metopes represented subjects partly from the myth of the birth of Zeus, partly from the battle of Gods and Giants, and the Trojan war and capture of Ilium. The fragments that have been recovered do not suffice to give us any general notion as to how these subjects were treated, but their style is remarkable, and different from what we should have expected. There is a good deal of variety in them, but few, if any, show the heavy forms of the Argive type. The nude male figure is treated with firmness and precision, but at the same time shows a lightness of proportions and variety of pose which is more like Attic work; the drapery, with its sometimes clinging, sometimes floating folds, again recalls the Attic sculptures of the same period; and of the types of face, though some are distinctly Argive, others resemble those on Attic monuments. When it is added that the material is Pentelic marble, the conclusion seems irresistible that the wonderful successes in decorative sculpture of Athens under Pericles had caused the influence of Attic art to spread even to Argos; and that, just as we recognised in the restraint and severity of many Attic works the influence of Peloponnesian art, so too this influence was later repaid by a reaction of Attic grace and lightness upon the dignified but somewhat heavy and monotonous style of the Argive sculptors. Another head (Fig. 79), in Parian marble, which probably does not belong to the

¹ See Waldstein, *Excavations at the Heraeum*.

architectural sculptures but to a free statue,¹ bears out the same conclusion. This head, which is one of the freshest and best



FIG. 79.—Head from Heraeum, near Argos (Athens, National Museum).

preserved examples of the sculpture of the fifth century, strikes us at first sight with its resemblance to the heads of the

¹ It is about two-thirds life size, and so too big for the metopes. It may be from the pediments, of which, however, no other traces have been found. It would rather seem from the words of Pausanias, who describes the metopes only, that the pediments had no sculpture.

Parthenon frieze, and has little resemblance in character or proportion to the head of the Doryphorus, or of the Amazon which we saw good reason for attributing to Polyclitus. Yet when we examine it more carefully we see a simplicity and severity of treatment, and absence of softness in modelling, which contrast with Attic work. It is rather what one would expect of an Argive sculptor who had fallen under Attic influence, and appreciated the grace and beauty of the sculpture of the Parthenon, without losing his strong sense of artistic moderation and clear-cut form. Doubtless sculptors from Argos as well as elsewhere were attracted to Athens by the great artistic activity under Pericles and Phidias; and it is in the later employment of such sculptors at Argos that both this head and the architectural sculptures of the Heraeum find their natural explanation.

§ 42. *Other sculptors and works of this period.*—Paeonius of Mende, in Thrace, has already come under our notice as the sculptor to whom Pausanias assigns the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. We also possess a work from his hand which is attested not only by the statement of Pausanias, but also by the inscribed basis on which it was erected. This is a statue of Victory, set up on a lofty triangular pedestal narrowing block by block up to the top, over which the goddess appears to be floating (Fig. 80). The inscription records that this Victory, made by Paeonius, was dedicated by the Messenians and Naupactians from the spoil of their enemy—that is to say, of the Spartans who fell or were captured at Sphacteria in 424 B.C.; such at least was the Messenian tradition.¹ On the inscription Paeonius states that he was also the victor in a competition to crown the gables of the temple with acroteria; which were probably similar floating figures of Victory.² The goddess is represented as floating with outstretched wings through the air. She is not alighting, for on the pedestal just beneath her feet is a flying eagle, as if to show she is still in the air; the rough block on which she is supported may well have been painted blue, so as to keep up the illusion, and be barely distinguishable from the sky. Her

¹ Pausanias without sufficient reason doubts it, and quotes an expedition against Oeniadae in 452 B.C. He was probably influenced by his belief that Paeonius made the pediment; but it is incredible that the same man could have made this Victory almost at the same time; thirty years later it is conceivable.

² It has been suggested that a confusion between acroteria and pediments may be the origin of Pausanias' statement about the latter.



FIG. 80.—Victory by Paenonius (Olympia).

face is lost :¹ the drapery is a very beautiful and careful study of the effect of wind and rapid motion, as it clings to the graceful and girlish form, or floats in wide tempestuous folds, while a loose mantle, held in one hand, sweeps out in a full curve behind the figure ; but at the same time it gives the impression of a study or an experiment, rather than of that mastery which we see in the best Attic work. It is interesting to compare this statue with the Victory of Samothrace,² when, in spite of the vigour of the later work, the simplicity and directness of observation in Paeonius' figure and its graceful poise in the air stand out in contrast. It is difficult to assign so original a work to an old artist, who had followed a very different style in his younger days, and had late in life fallen under the all-pervading Attic influence ; but such is the only possibility, if we wish to adhere to the statement of Pausanias about the pediments. When we consider the grave difficulties that met us in the case of Alcamenes also, we must acknowledge that the hesitation which so many have felt in attributing the Olympian pediments to these two artists is certainly justified.

Various series of sculptures, mostly architectural, have been found in widely-separated districts of the ancient world, which may be ranked either as examples of Greek sculpture of the fifth century, or as falling directly under its influence. We have already had to turn to the sepulchral sculpture of Lycia as illustrating the contemporary tendencies of Greek art, and in the "Harpy tomb" we saw an example of the lax archaic style derived from Ionia. We must return to Lycia again in the fifth century, to see once more an art entirely subservient to that of Greece ; but the predominance of Athens has already asserted itself, and we shall see in Lycia the reflection of many types and many artistic devices which we have noticed either in Athens or in works made outside Athens under Attic influences.

The most extensive of these Lycian monuments is the sculpture on the precinct wall surrounding a tomb at Trysa (the modern Gjölbashi) ;³ it has now been removed bodily to

¹ On Grüttner's restoration, which is widely known, her face is restored from the pediments ; this begs the question of Paeonius' authorship of the latter, and tends to prejudice our judgment on the question.

² See p. 486.

³ Without illustrations it is impossible to speak except in a general way of these reliefs ; and illustrations of details would not suffice ; to gain a general

Vienna. The material in which it is carved is unfortunately a soft and porous stone, which has suffered much from exposure to the weather, and can never have been adapted to refinements of modelling. The artist probably trusted for his effect in great measure to colour, and indeed his compositions on the whole are pictorial rather than sculpturesque in character. It is difficult to decide how far we are entitled to quote this monument as a work of Greek sculpture at all. It consists of whole series of friezes, often set one above another on a wall in defiance of all Greek architectural principles, and recalling the sculptured chronicles which adorned the palace walls of oriental monarchs. Some of its scenes are historical records of actual combat; others are decorative or conventional; but the majority form a varied gallery of mythological subjects. The battles of Greeks and Amazons and of Lapiths and Centaurs, the exploits of Theseus, the slaying of the suitors by Odysseus, these and many more find their place here; and while some of them repeat the types with which we are already familiar from Attic decorative sculpture, others show representations which can be more easily paralleled upon vases. When we consider the strong influence which Ionic art exercised at an earlier period in Lycia, and also the character and treatment of the composition, which, wherever it is not mere chronicle, is governed by the principles of painting rather than those of sculpture, it is impossible to seek the origin of the art they represent anywhere else than in the paintings of the great Ionic artist Polygnotus.¹ The affinity of his great historical and mythological compositions with the reliefs of Trysa is obvious; the repetition of some of the same scenes upon Attic vases is undoubtedly due to his influence. And it is an interesting question how far we may trace that same influence in the Attic reliefs which we have hitherto considered. It is probable that these Lycian sculptures derived the influence of Polygnotus in part directly from the painter; but we can also see many features which betray an acquaintance with the Attic reliefs of the age of Pericles, from which the Heroum of Trysa cannot be far removed in actual date.

Another Lycian monument of later date, but still, in all

notion of the whole composition it is necessary to turn over the plates of Benndorf's great publication, *Das Heroön von Gjelbaschi-Trysa*.

¹ See p. 348, below.

probability, falling within the limits of the fifth century,¹ is now in the British Museum. This is the Nereid monument, so called from the figures in floating and clinging drapery which once stood between its columns, and which appear, from the marine attributes with which some of them are provided, to represent Nereids. There is considerable resemblance between some of these Nereids and the Victory of Paenionius, especially in the drapery, and the reason for this resemblance is probably not to be sought in any influence of the one upon the other, but rather in some common influence which affects both. It is possible that this influence should be recognised as that of Attic art, and that in both cases alike we see the experimental, sometimes even exaggerated, attempt of a foreign hand to imitate the consummate skill and grace in the treatment of drapery which mark the Attic art of the latter part of the fifth century. But perhaps an explanation at once simple and more probable may be found in the pictorial character of Ionic art, of which we have already seen so striking an example in the Heroum of Trysa, though some relation to contemporary Attic art cannot be denied. The position of the Nereids, set as figures in rapid motion between the rigid lines of the colonnade, shows a device familiar to architectural sculpture. The other decorations of the building consist of four friezes; of these two were probably placed one round the cella and another over the columns of the small Ionic temple that forms the body of the monument, and two others surrounded the lofty basis on which it is erected. This system of decoration is a great advance on that of the Heroum at Trysa, where the friezes are simply carved on the wall in no architectural relation either to it or to one another; in this respect the distribution of the sculpture of the Nereid monument resembles the decoration which we shall meet later on the greatest of all Asiatic monuments, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. In subjects the resemblance to the Trysa monument is again conspicuous. We have the record of battles and the capture of a town, partly in a style and composition which recalls the frieze of the temple of

¹ The old view is that it was the monument of the Lycian prince Pericles, and referred to his capture of Telmessus in about 370 B.C. But Furtwängler, *Arch. Z.* 1882, p. 359, and Benndorf, *Das Heroön von Gölüb-Trysa*, p. 243, give good reasons for assigning the tomb to the fifth century, though its association with the Lycian Pericles is still possible.

the Wingless Victory at Athens, partly in pictorial treatment, great spaces of wall and town being introduced in the manner of some of the scenes of the Heroum of Trysa—a device more familiar on the mural chronicles of Asiatic sculpture than in the art of Greece. The sculptors of the Nereid monument have the advantage over those of Trysa in their material, Parian marble, which has not only led to the better preservation of their work, but also gave more opportunity for surface modelling. It may be doubted to whom the design and execution of such a work should be attributed. The local characteristics, alike in style and accessories, seem to exclude the possibility of the employment of Attic artists. It seems more reasonable to suppose the monument to be the work of local sculptors, brought up under the Ionic influence which prevailed in Lycia, and not unacquainted with the great series of architectural sculptures with which the age of Pericles had enriched Athens.

We have already noticed the Sicilian sculptures, which occupy a prominent position in the earlier history of Greek art; another of the temples at Selinus has a set of metopes which, from their style, must be attributed to about the middle of the fifth century. These, like the earlier ones, are now in Palermo. It is a peculiarity of these metopes that they have the faces, hands, and feet of the female figures inserted in white marble, the rest of the sculpture being in coarse local stone. This inlaying makes us realise how much the effect of colour as well as of form was relied upon in such architectural sculptures, especially when they were made of inferior material. The subjects of the metopes preserved are the wedding of Zeus and Hera—he is seated on a rock, and she stands before him, holding her veil up with one hand—the punishment of Actaeon, who is attacked by his own dogs while Artemis stands looking on at the side, and the combats of Heracles and Hippolyta, and of Athena and a Giant.¹ Selinus was a Dorian colony, and we can see, especially in the female figures, some resemblance to the corresponding figures in the Olympian metopes; but there is less vigour and more mannerism about the Selinus sculptures. They represent a further development of the tendency which we noticed in some of the earlier metopes from the same site—notably that of Europa on the bull. Together with their refinement and delicacy of sentiment they betray the weak-

¹ Baumeister, Figs. 367, 368.

ness which too great prosperity had brought to the Sicilian Greeks.

A very different series, though of about the same date, are the colossal figures¹ which served as pilasters in the upper part of the interior of the huge temple of Zeus at Acragas. These however are treated architecturally rather than sculpturally; there is a stiffness and archaic character about them which is evidently intended to adapt them to their position as supports. They contrast alike with the easy and graceful service of the maidens who carry the light entablature of the portico of the Erechtheum at Athens, and with the constrained, sometimes almost painful sense of oppression beneath a heavy load which we sometimes find in later and less conventional supporters.

§ 43. *Summary.*—We saw in the last chapter how the various schools of sculpture in Greece were all advancing towards a common goal in the evolution of artistic types, and in the attainment of mastery over technique; we also saw how these various schools influenced one another even during the earlier years of the rise of sculpture. But, with the feeling of national unity and combination against the Persian enemy, and the common dedications in thanksgiving for the victory, the relations of the various states of Greece became yet closer, and it was the mutual influence of their local schools that gave rise, not merely to the art of Athens or of Argos or of Aegina, but to that Greek art of the fifth century which has never been rivalled in the loftiness of its ideals or the perfection of its execution. The last steps towards technical mastery were very rapid; but men like Calamis and Myron and Pythagoras were themselves but the last of a long series of predecessors who had each added his contribution of thought, of study, or of observation to a progress which seems swift in its culmination.

In the first exuberance of conscious power and mastery over the material, we meet with some examples in which the skill of the sculptor impresses us more than the subject, which he perhaps seems to have chosen rather for the sake of its difficulty than for its adaptation to sculptural treatment. But these are the exception; and it is not the least remarkable thing in the history of Greek art that just at the moment when it attained

¹ They are commonly stated to be Giants; why, I do not know, except from their size; they have none of the characteristics of Giants in Greek art. They are also known as Atlantes or Telamones. See Baumeister, Fig. 270.

perfect technical skill, this skill was not regarded by the greatest artist as an end in itself, but as a means for the expression of the ideals which sculpture had hitherto been unable to approach worthily. And in the nobility of conception and design which distinguishes the art of the fifth century it is not sculpture alone that can claim pre-eminence. The same character is attributed to the great compositions of the painter Polygnotus, who worked in Greece during the period immediately following the Persian wars, and covered with his paintings the walls of buildings at Athens and at Delphi. He was a Thasian by birth, and we have already noticed the pictorial character which the sculpture of northern Greece and of Ionia possessed before his time, and which, owing mainly to his influence, was still more widely spread in later times. Polygnotus occupies much the same position among Greek painters that Phidias holds among Greek sculptors; and although we cannot attribute to him the same technical perfection in his branch which we must attribute to his greater contemporary, it would be difficult to overrate his influence. We can only judge of his work from more or less remote reflections of it in sculpture or on vases; but all ancient writers agree to praise the nobility of his aims and the breadth and simplicity of his style. It may even be that these same qualities, which we noticed as modifying in the fifth century the tendency towards excess of grace and refinement in Attic art, are due in part to the influence of Polygnotus, as well as to the severity and accuracy in execution which Athens learnt from her Peloponnesian rivals.

The leading feature of this period, in art as in literature, is the sudden advance of Athens to a position of unrivalled eminence among the Greek states. The city of Aeschylus was also the city of Phidias; and although other centres of art continued to pursue their local traditions, we can trace Attic influence even amidst the sculptures produced by the rival school of Argos, and in the remote uplands of Lycia. Yet, in spite of this pre-eminence of Athens, other schools by no means gave up their traditions, and Argos in particular continued that study of athletic forms which reached its highest attainment in the work of Polyclitus, and was passed on by him to his successors. It is probable also that other minor schools, of which our literary records are scanty, also persisted in their own tradition, modified indeed by the greater influences of the period, and offering each

its own contribution to the resources of Greek sculpture. While athletic art was carried to its highest pitch not only in the study of the figure in detail, but also in that of pose and of symmetry, and the numerous works of architectural and decorative sculpture offered unlimited scope to the imagination of the artist and his skill in composition, it was above all in the great statues of the gods that the fifth century showed its highest and most characteristic attainments. These attainments are so much bound up with the work of Phidias and his associates that there is no need to add anything here to what has already been said. Although, as a natural consequence of the value of the materials generally used, we neither have nor can hope to have any of the masterpieces of this sculpture in our museums, we can trace their reflection in innumerable minor works, and recognise in literature the ideas to which they gave the most perfect expression. It is only by a sympathy with the Greek character, to be attained by a careful study of the history of their life, their thought, and their art, that we can realise what we have lost, and attain, by a constructive imagination, to some notion of its character.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOURTH CENTURY ; 400-320 B.C.

§ 44. *Character of the period.*—If there is one characteristic which, more than any other, marks the distinction of Greek art of the fourth century from that of the fifth, it is the greater prominence of the individual and personal element, alike in employer, in artist, and in subject. With the exception of the statues of victorious athletes, which continue to be made under much the same conditions from the earliest to the latest times, almost all the chief works with which we had to deal in the last chapter were public dedications, made at the expense of the state, and recording the triumphs of the people, or giving expression to its religious aspirations. In the fourth century the private dedication takes a more prominent place, partly because the impoverished exchequers of the states could no longer afford such magnificent expenditure, partly because of the tendency, in the decline of political health and vigour, for men to live for themselves rather than for the State. In the case of the sculptors too the individuality of the various masters seems to assert itself more strongly than before. However great the names with which we have hitherto met, they mostly appear to represent for us the culmination and impersonation of the traditions of a school, or perhaps, of all Greek art, rather than the character and attainments of an individual. This impression may be enhanced by the fact that we are forced to infer the nature of the chief works of this period either from very inferior copies or from the work of assistants and associates ; but in part it is due to the very greatness of the sculptors themselves. When once the artistic and technical skill indispensable for the greatest statues is acquired, the master appears to apply

it once for all to the highest religious and artistic aspirations of the people, and to give to the Greek ideals an embodiment so perfect that both his contemporaries and his successors must recognise the impossibility of further progress. Indeed, those who came after Phidias must have felt what Wagner said of Beethoven; he had exhausted the possibility of attainment in the art which he had made his own; for others, unless they were content to be merely the imitators of what could not be surpassed, the only chance was to strike out a new line, and to follow new artistic methods. This leads us to the third element in the artistic conditions of the fourth century—individuality in subject. We may see this, in its simplest form, in the case of portraiture. We have already noticed¹ how Cresilas, in his portrait of Pericles, does not bring before our eyes the personal character of the subject, with his idiosyncrasies of character and manner—much less the minor physical traits and peculiarities of his appearance—but rather that noble type of statesman, general, and patron of all literary, intellectual, and artistic excellence, which found in Pericles its most perfect expression. We may contrast this, to take an extreme case, with the portrait of the bald little Corinthian general, Pellichus, made by Demetrius,² in which all the personal characteristics of the man, his corpulence, his swollen veins, even the arrangement of his hair and his garments, are reproduced with realistic exactness; and in a statue like that of Demosthenes, of which we possess copies that must be derived from a fourth-century original, we may see the same tendency, though followed with more moderation. To statues of the gods it may seem at first sight that this distinction between the fifth and the fourth centuries cannot apply, and of course it does not apply in the same degree. But when we contrast the work of Phidias with that of Scopas or Praxiteles, the essential difference is of much the same nature. Phidias embodied in his great statues a noble conception of the permanent and immutable character of the deity, his power and his benignity. Scopas and Praxiteles seem rather to realise the gods as individuals of like passions with ourselves, to express their varying moods and phases of character or emotion, or to draw subtle distinctions of personality. And another point of difference between the fourth and fifth centuries follows as an almost inevitable consequence from this. While it might

¹ P. 317.² P. 450.

suffice for Phidias to be absorbed in the contemplation of his ideal, and to devote all his energy to its adequate artistic expression, a sculptor who depended so much on subtle distinctions and rendering of passing moods or excited emotions could hardly fail to consider also the effect of his work on the spectator, and the means by which he could bring home to those who saw his statue the particular impression which he intended to convey. He would thus devote his attention to its appearance and the effect it produced, rather than to the perfection and correctness of its actual form; he felt a tendency at once towards realism and towards impressionism. But of course this tendency was only allowed scope in the fourth century within certain limits, and never, at least in the case of the greater artists, exceeded the bounds of moderation. The influence of the severe and lofty ideals and the exact and conscientious execution of the earlier period long continued to be felt, and, in addition to this, the strong natural instinct of the Greeks for sculpture still prevented them from attempting anything beyond the legitimate province of the art. And, even in execution, there was still a possibility for advance. If we did not possess the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, even the *Elgin marbles* would not suffice to show us how the Greek sculptor could carve marble to render the texture and elasticity of flesh or the folds and material of drapery.

§ 45. *Cephisodotus*.—An account of the sculptors of the fourth century naturally begins with the name of Cephisodotus, partly because of his close relationship to Praxiteles¹ and his artistic connection with him, partly because in his works we may already trace characteristic examples of many of the tendencies of the time. One of his works—fortunately that which is the most interesting for its subject—has been recognised by Brunn in a statue now preserved at Munich (Fig. 81). It is a study in impersonation of abstract ideas which is thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the age—the goddess Peace nursing the infant Wealth.

¹ He is usually stated by modern writers to be the father of Praxiteles. But the date of such of his works as are recorded is not much earlier than that of Praxiteles himself; hence he has been suggested (by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 295) to be his elder brother; a similarity in subjects suggests that he influenced or taught Praxiteles. Furtwängler, who believes in an elder Praxiteles also, for whose existence there is but scanty evidence, suggests that this man was the grandfather of Cephisodotus and the great Praxiteles. The younger Cephisodotus was the son of Praxiteles. Such a recurrence of names in a family is of course extremely common.

This group may most probably be recognised on certain coins of Athens,¹ which show a statue certainly identical with that from which the copy at Munich is derived. Although we cannot imagine an allegorical representation like this to have com-



FIG. 81.—Irene and Plutus, after Cephisodotus (Munich).

manded the worship of the people and influenced its religious conceptions in the same manner as the great statues by Phidias, there seems to be no doubt that its fancy hit the popular taste, and that it gave more reality to a cult of which there are some

¹ *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, Pl. DD. ix. x.

earlier traces. Just as the altar of Pity was one of the most popular of all at Athens in later times, so too there are varying traditions of the foundation of an altar of peace at Athens, which however, need have no direct connection with the statue. Aristophanes' play, the *Peace*, suffices to show how natural was the impersonation of the goddess. The statue itself was in bronze;¹ Peace (Irene) is represented standing, her right hand resting on a sceptre, supporting on her left arm the child Wealth (Plutus). Her drapery is dignified in treatment, but severe and almost archaic in stiffness; it recalls the work of the fifth century rather than the fourth; her proportions also are massive and stately. As to the child, little can be said; it is obvious that in extant copies it has been modified to suit the taste of a later age, which rendered the forms of children with more truth to nature than was usual in the fourth century. The group—or rather the figure with the child—is especially interesting for comparison with the Hermes and infant Dionysus of Praxiteles, a subject in which Cephisodotus had also anticipated his greater successor. His group of Peace and Wealth was similar in subject to another group set up at Thebes, representing Fortune (Tyche) and the child Wealth, a group of which the more important parts, and presumably the design also, were due to the Attic sculptor Xenophon. This Xenophon was evidently an associate of Cephisodotus; he worked with him in a group dedicated in the temple of Zeus Soter at Megalopolis,² representing Zeus enthroned, with Megalopolis standing by him on one side, Artemis on the other—yet another example of personification. As to other statues by Cephisodotus, an Athena and possibly a Zeus at the Peiraeus and a group of the Muses on Mount Helicon, we know no details, and their identification can only be conjectural. But what we know of his work suffices to show us that he was a sculptor who in type and in execution kept to the severer style of the preceding century, while his predilection for allegorical subjects and impersonations betrays

¹ This is an inference from the style of the Munich statue; it is nowhere expressly stated.

² It is true that the architectural evidence in this temenos points to a later date than the foundation of the city in 371 B.C., which offers the most probable occasion for the dedication. But the architectural remains, beyond foundations, are very scanty, and may well be due to later repairs. The association of Cephisodotus and Xenophon, and the similarity of their subjects, outweigh anything but clear and positive evidence to the contrary. To substitute the younger Cephisodotus in this connection appears an improbable theory.

that study of fine distinctions of character, even in divinities, which marks the fourth century. At the same time we do not yet find any study of emotion or passion in his work; he shows only the beginning of those tendencies which other sculptors, some of them of his own family, were to follow in their art.

§ 46. *Praxiteles*.¹—The work of Praxiteles was regarded by the later Greeks and the Romans with an admiration more unqualified and more enthusiastic than was accorded to any other artist of antiquity; and there is no name so familiar to modern ears as representing the sculpture of Greece. Yet those very facts have probably led to an unjust and one-sided, if not erroneous, estimate of his artistic excellence. The word Praxitelean suggests a rich and voluptuous beauty, sometimes almost an effeminate and luxurious character, which is too easily contrasted with the noble and severe ideals of an earlier and higher art. But in this matter Praxiteles has been wronged by his very popularity. The innumerable copyists and imitators of later Greek and Roman times could appreciate, even if they could not reproduce, the softness and delicacy of his modelling, the grace of pose and beauty of physical form which they saw in his works. But the stronger and nobler side of his art was ignored by them, as beyond their appreciation or comprehension, and consequently omitted in what they doubtless intended for faithful copies of his statues; and, were we dependent only on such copies, we should be forced either to acquiesce in their versions of the master's character, or to believe, without a possibility of proof, that there was something more in his work beyond what they have reproduced. Fortunately, however, this is not the case. We possess at least one undisputed original from the hand of Praxiteles himself; and it seems best to make this the starting-point of our study, before proceeding to consider other works mentioned by literary tradition, and preserved to us in more or less inadequate copies.

Among the statues set up in the Heraeum at Olympia, Pausanias mentions a Hermes of marble, carrying the infant Dionysus, the work of Praxiteles. The statue in Parian marble, answering exactly to this description, was found in the Heraeum by the German excavators, so that the identifica-

¹ There is no trustworthy evidence as to any exact date in the career of Praxiteles, but all indications join to prove that his artistic activity must fall about the middle of the fourth century.

tion, even on external evidence, is placed beyond all possibility of doubt. This is the only case in which we possess an undisputed original, straight from the hand of one of the greatest masters of antiquity; and the preservation of the surface is admirable. Hermes was represented as standing in an easy and graceful position, leaning his left elbow, which supports the child, on a tree-trunk, partly disguised by the folds of his chlamys, which hangs from the same elbow. His weight rests mainly on his right hip, his left leg being bent at the knee, and the distribution of support thus produced gives rise to a peculiarly delicate and restful curve in the central line of the figure, while the tree-trunk prevents the weight of the child from affecting or stiffening the pose. The right arm of Hermes is raised; but there is no clear evidence as to the object which it held. Some have maintained that it was some object like a bunch of grapes, towards which the child is reaching out his hand; others that it was the caduceus, in the form of a long sceptre, like that held by the Irene of Cephisodotus.¹ Either view can be supported by the evidence of minor works of art reproducing the motive of the statue, which vary considerably in detail. In any case, Hermes cannot be regarded as taking any active interest in the matter; his gaze is fixed, not on the child, but on a point beyond him, and his expression has nothing of the concentration of playfulness. The child is treated with none of the realism which we find devoted to the forms of children in later art. His proportions are those of a much older boy, and his face is but slightly sketched; he is in every way treated as an attribute rather than as a separate figure forming part of a group. We have not to do with a *genre* scene, in which the interest lies in the action, or in the relation of the figures, but with an ideal representation of Hermes as the protector of youth; this function is exemplified by his care of his younger brother Dionysus.² It is then as a statue of Hermes that we have to consider the work of Praxiteles.

To appreciate the unrivalled excellence of Praxiteles, alike in the selection of type and proportions, and in the details of

¹ So A. H. Smith, *J. H. S.* iii. p. 81, who summarises the evidence. Treu suggested a thyrsus.

² To try to see any political meaning, such as an alliance of Arcadia and Elis, in the Hermes and Dionysus is clearly superfluous, just as much so as to find an occasion for the making of the Irene and Plutus.



FIG. 82.—Hermes and infant Dionysus by Praxiteles (Olympia).

execution, one can hardly do better than compare the *Hermes* with later copies, derived either from this statue or from other works of *Praxiteles*. Some of these, though they may pass muster among the ordinary contents of a museum, at once



FIG. 83.—Head of *Hermes*, by *Praxiteles* (*Olympia*).

offend us, when placed beside an original, by the coarseness and heaviness of their modelling; others by their too soft and effeminate forms. It seems impossible for later artists to steer a middle course between these two extremes, not to speak of approaching the marvellous combination of strength and

virility of type with softness and delicacy of modelling, and with that subtle play of surface in marble, which had already distinguished the Attic school, but awaited the hand of Praxiteles to bring it to a perfection that has never been attained before or since. The figure of the Hermes, though more slender and graceful than that of a Polyclitan athlete, is that of a man of the highest physical development, and if not in hard training, at least in such perfect condition as to render training superfluous. Yet the vigorous and muscular form is covered with an envelope of flesh so elastic and flowing in its surface, and full of such delicate play of light and shade in the modelling, that its strength is almost concealed by its grace—an impression enhanced by the restful attitude. The treatment of the drapery is different alike from the drapery of the Parthenon pediments, beautiful from studied system rather than spontaneity, and from the work of later times, which errs either in elaboration or in over-simplicity. It is said that when the photograph of the Hermes was first shown to a great German critic, he said, "Why did they leave that cloth hanging there when they photographed the statue?" And the wonderful realism in treatment of folds and of surface could not receive a more emphatic tribute; yet we may well doubt whether any artistic skill could have devised, in cloth, an appearance and composition so simple and graceful in itself, and so perfectly adapted to its purpose. In the foot, too, we can see the most skilful indication of the difference of texture between the leather sandal and the skin. But it is above all in the head of the Hermes that the original work of Praxiteles shows the greatest difference from imitations or copies; and, in fact, we know that the critic Lucian selected the head, and in particular the hair, brow, and eyes, as that in which Praxiteles excelled all other artists. Although he had in his mind the Cnidian Aphrodite, his criticism will apply almost equally well to the Hermes. The hair, which is cut short all over the scalp, stands out in small, roughly-finished blocks; the apparently slight and sketchy treatment is most successful in the feeling of texture which it gives, and particularly in its contrast with the finished and polished surface of the skin. The form of the brow is distinguished by the strongly-marked bar of flesh over the brow,¹ separated by a depression from the upper part of the fore-

¹ Sometimes called in modern times "the bar of Michael Angelo."

head—a characteristic which, before but slightly indicated, in the fourth century, and, especially in the works of Praxiteles and Scopas, distinguishes the male forehead from the female. It helps to give a finish at once softer and broader to the brow, and also to throw the eyes and their sockets more into shadow. The line of the nose, in profile, practically continues the line of the upper part of the forehead, this bar projecting beyond it. The opening of the eyes is narrow, only about one-third of their length; the upper eyelid projects strongly; the under but very slightly, and at the outer edge it passes by an almost imperceptible transition into the adjoining surface; the profile of the eyeball is but slightly curved, and inclined considerably downwards. The expression which results from this treatment is of a gaze directed slightly downwards, and not concentrated on any point near or far, but resting vaguely on a moderately distant object—a gaze that implies passive contemplation rather than close attention or strong emotion. The lower part of the face narrows greatly towards the chin, and in the finish of the lips we see the same delicate and almost imperceptible transition at the sides into the surface of the cheek which we noticed in the end of the eyelids. The whole character and type of the head is in complete harmony with the treatment of the body. It is refined and intellectual, yet free from all trace of excessive concentration. The whole statue suggests a nature of perfect physical and intellectual development, free from all taint of special training. In the *Hermes*, Praxiteles has embodied his ideal of Greek youth, in its normal and healthy condition, and he has added that expression of mood which is inseparable from the individuality of his conception—here a half-thoughtful, half-unconscious feeling of pleasure in the harmony of the god with himself and with his surroundings, and in a momentary rest from a task itself made light by an abundance of intellectual and physical power.

The *Hermes* was only one of the minor works of Praxiteles, though, to us, its preservation has placed it first among his works. With the help of the knowledge of his style which we can gather from an original work, we must now proceed to consider what were counted by antiquity as his masterpieces, though we have to be content to see them only in inferior copies.

First of these comes the *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, considered by many ancient writers to be the most beautiful of all statues. The



FIG. 84. —Aphrodite of Cnidus, after Praxiteles (Rome, Vatican). From *J. H. S.* Pl. lxxx.

type of this Aphrodite is known to us alike from descriptions and from its reproduction upon the coins of Cnidus; and with the help of them copies of it have been identified in the Vatican¹ (Fig. 84) and at Munich. The goddess is represented as preparing for the bath, which thus supplies a motive for her nudity. The feeling of the Greeks in this matter is illustrated by an anecdote which told how the Coans, being offered by Praxiteles the choice between this statue and a draped one, chose the latter, as more consistent with the dignity of the goddess. She stands in a position closely resembling that of the Hermes; we see the same graceful curve of the whole figure, produced by the weight being carried on the projecting right hip, the left knee being bent; but, unlike the Hermes, the Aphrodite does not rest her left elbow on a support, but holds in her left hand the drapery which she allows to glide down upon a large marble vase. She is not naked and unashamed; rather her nudity is conscious. And here again we see the personal individuality of the conception of Praxiteles. He is not content merely to embody in his work his ideal of the goddess as she is, her beauty unveiled; but he realises the feeling with which she shrinks from its exposure even for the bath—a feeling expressed in every line of face and figure—while she is conscious of her own beauty, and delights in it. There is, of course, no trace of that later and less refined motive, in which the goddess is conscious, so to speak, of human spectators, and assumes a posture of mock modesty. That is the degradation due to the imitators of Praxiteles; yet his conception contains the germ which was capable of such development.

In execution, the Vatican statue, with the help of the Hermes, may give us some notion of the delicacy of Praxiteles' style. The type of the body, though less broad and majestic than the female figures of the Parthenon, is still far removed from the narrow-chested, too-rounded figures of later art. With all the softness of modelling and even voluptuousness of outline, there is still a finely-developed physical form. Hair and drapery are again treated with a skill in the rendering of texture which contrasts them with the smooth surface of the skin. In the

¹ The Vatican example is incomparably the finer, and is followed in the description. Her legs are covered with tin drapery; fortunately a cast of the whole statue was obtained in 1887; from it our illustration is taken. The original has never been photographed entire.

expression, we can to some extent realise what Lucian meant when he spoke of "the beautiful line of her forehead and brow, and her melting eye, full of joy and of pleasure." In the eyes we see the same narrow opening as in the Hermes, but here even more marked; it is indeed "the sleepy eye that speaks the melting soul," which the sculptor has chosen for the dreamy mood which he portrays as characteristic of the goddess of love. The Aphrodite of Praxiteles had as great an influence on later art, and represents as essential a part of Greek religion, as the Zeus or Athena of Phidias. But alike the choice of the subject and the manner in which it is treated belong not only to a different artist but also to a different age.

Scarcely less famous than the Aphrodite of Cnidus was the Eros of Thespieae, a statue presented by Praxiteles to his mistress Phryne, and dedicated by her in her native town. Unfortunately we have no description of this statue, nor any record of its attitude; all we know of it is that it was the one thing that made Thespieae worth visiting, and that it was counted among the few greatest statues of the ancient world. Another Eros, set up at Parium on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) is represented on the coins of that town.¹ The god was represented as a youthful figure, leaning with his left elbow on a pillar, his weight supported on his right hip, his left knee bent—exactly the position and distribution of weight which we saw in the Hermes. His right arm was lowered, but the object, if any, which it held cannot be made out. He has long wings; and his head is turned over his left shoulder. Though many statues of Eros exist which are clearly derived more or less directly from a Praxitelean original, we cannot with certainty regard any of them as copied from either the Thespian or the Parian figure. The type of Eros introduced by Praxiteles was imitated by numerous later artists, but imitated with countless variations of pose and of detail, so that it is extremely difficult to eliminate from them what belongs to a later age, or to a different sculptor; it seems clear, however, that Praxiteles represented the god as a youth of almost mature proportions, but with a boyish delicacy and grace in his pose and in the softer modelling of his body; and this is the type of the fourth century, which is repeated again and again in variations on the Praxitelean conception, until the

¹ See *J. H. S.* 1883, p. 271; cf. Roscher, *Lexikon Myth.* p. 1358.

dreamy youth who symbolises the power of love is superseded, in the Hellenistic age, by the mischievous and sportive child, with tiny wings and chubby form, who is familiar as Cupid in Roman art, and hence in mediaeval and modern fancy.

It is said that when Phryne induced Praxiteles to name his finest works by the trick of telling him his studio was on fire, he exclaimed at once that his labour was all lost, if the Satyr and the Eros were destroyed. The Eros was the statue which she chose and dedicated at Thespiae. The Satyr was to be seen in the Street of the Tripods at Athens, and the judgment of the sculptor as to its excellence was endorsed by the general opinion, if we may judge from the numerous copies of it that have been found. The most famous of these is "the Capitoline faun" (Fig. 85), the best is a torso now in the Louvre, so admirable in its workmanship that Brunn and others are disposed to recognise in it the original statue of Praxiteles, from which all the others are derived. The youthful Satyr is represented as human in every respect except his pointed ears; but human only physically; his expression, so far as we can judge from the copies, was that of a playful animal; the contrast is clearest when we put him beside the Hermes, whose face has all the possibility of moral and intellectual energy: in the whole body too of the Satyr we seem to see the character of a soulless and happy existence; he is at rest for the moment, and his position again recalls that of the Hermes; he rests also on a tree-trunk, but with his right elbow, his weight being supported mainly on the left thigh; his right leg is not merely bent backwards, as in the more dignified position of the Hermes, but bent round also, so that his right foot is placed behind his left. His right hand held a pipe, which he evidently has just been playing; his left rests on his hip. He has a leopard-skin thrown across his chest, and in the Louvre torso the wonderful contrast of texture between the skin of the beast and the living human skin which it covers is almost worthy of the hand that made the foot and sandal of the Hermes. The care and thought which the sculptor has devoted to realising this conception of a Satyr are again characteristic of Praxiteles and of his age. In earlier times the satyrs were merely grotesque monsters, whose semi-bestial nature often found the simplest expression in external characteristics. Praxiteles takes up the double nature rather as a psychological



FIG. 85.—Satyr, after Praxiteles (Rome, Capitol).

theme; and he solves the difficulties with a skill as great as that which the artists of the fifth century had shown in the physical combination of the two natures in the Centaur; but the interest for him lies in the expression of the individual character of the creature of his fancy. He follows, it is true, a mythological type; but he approaches it from a new point of view, in which the mythological conception is but a pretext for the theme of the artist's imagination.

Another work of Praxiteles, of which the subject is so distinctive that copies of it are easily recognisable, is the Apollo Sauroctonus. The mythological type is here again given a new turn by Praxiteles; the god is represented as very youthful, and playing with the lizard, which runs up a tree-trunk against which he leans with his left hand high above his head, while in his right he holds an arrow with which he tries to hit the animal; in fact the scene is one of mere boyish sport; as to style and execution, we cannot judge from the copies that survive of this work; they are all of that effeminate character to which the style of Praxiteles was so often perverted in later times.

It is satisfactory to turn from such travesties of his work to a monument of a different nature; the reliefs decorating the basis of a great group which he made at Mantinea, representing Leto with her two children, Apollo and Artemis. As to the group itself we have no evidence beyond the subject, but on the basis of it Pausanias mentions "a Muse and Marsyas playing the flute" (?). This may well be an abridged and perhaps corrupted description of a group representing the contest of Apollo with his lyre and Marsyas with his flute, the Muses acting as judges; and this very subject having recently been discovered on a relief at Mantinea, in a form suitable for decorating the basis of a statue, its identity with the work described can hardly be disputed; and it may consequently be attributed, at least in design, to Praxiteles himself, though the execution was probably left to assistants. It consists of three slabs, which evidently were placed side by side on the front of the basis.¹ On the middle slab (Fig. 86) is Apollo seated in a quiet dignity that contrasts with the wild excitement of his antagonist, whose figure recalls in his

¹ Dr. Waldstein points out that the reliefs were all on the front, not on the different sides of the basis (Papers of the Amer. School at Athens, v. p. 282). But his assumption of a fourth slab spoils the symmetry of the composition and is unnecessary; the conventional number of nine for the Muses belongs to later art. I follow here an unpublished suggestion of Professor Percy Gardner.



FIG. 86.—Relief from Mantinean basis; Apollo and Marryas (Athens, National Museum).

attitude the statue by Myron, which was so famous as to have become conventional. Between the two stands the Phrygian slave with a knife—a hint of the terrible punishment of flaying that awaited the vanquished Marsyas. On either side is a peculiarly graceful group of three Muses; the diversity of their postures and the rich variety of their drapery recall the terracotta statuettes of Tanagra, and perhaps give us a clue to show whence those statuettes derived their artistic inspiration.

So far we have been concerned with works of Praxiteles which are preserved for our study either in the original or in copies. To these might be added many others, which have been attributed to him by ancient or modern authorities—among them the famous group of the children of Niobe,¹ which ancient critics, as Pliny tells us, hesitated whether they should assign to him or to Scopas. Enough, however, is now before us to enable us to obtain a fair general notion of his artistic activity and character; only we must remember that a long list of his works compiled from ancient authorities places him among the most prolific of ancient sculptors, that his variety of subject and treatment was very great, and that some of his works in bronze were hardly inferior to those in marble. Beside many groups of deities,² Praxiteles made the statue of Artemis Brauronia at Athens, that of Trophonius, in a form like that of Asclepius, at Lebadeia, and others that were set up as objects of worship in temples. Several of these are preserved to us on coins, though only in minute copies,³ and so we can judge at least of their attitude. Thus Dionysus, at Elis, was represented in much the same attitude as the Hermes, his left elbow rested on a pillar, and into it he poured wine from a rhyton held in his raised right hand; the youthful form of the god is also characteristic; and Artemis, at Anticyra, was in rapid advance, a torch held before her in her right hand,⁴ a bow

¹ See § 55.

² One of these, attributed to Praxiteles, is of Demeter, Persephone, and Iacchus at Athens. Its inscription was written in the Attic alphabet, officially given up in 403 B.C., and this is the strongest evidence for the existence of an elder Praxiteles. On the other hand, Cicero's quotation of the Iacchus as a priceless statue which nothing would induce the Athenians to part with, seems to imply that the great Praxiteles was the sculptor. An inscription on the wall about the artist of the statues is in any case unusual, and it may perhaps have been a device of later date, with affected archaism in the lettering.

³ *E.g. Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 74; Pl. K. xxxvii., Y. xvii., FF. i. ii. etc.

⁴ So Pausanias. The coin has inverted the action of the two hands.

in her left. She wore a short chiton, and her quiver was on her shoulders; beside her was a hound. Another statue reproduced on coins is that of Leto at Argos. She leant her left elbow on a small archaic statue,¹ and her right arm was raised, again a Praxitelean attitude. In addition to such statues of gods and goddesses, Praxiteles made two statues of Phryne, one of marble at Thespiae, one of bronze gilt at Delphi; it was even said that Phryne had served as his model for the Cnidian Aphrodite; and, though we may not accept this literally, we may well acknowledge that Praxiteles took advantage, for that statue, of his studies of a woman whose beauty of face and of figure was beyond compare. Among other works, there were attributed to him groups of the attendants of Dionysus—Maenads and Thyiads, Satyrs and Nymphs. It would be interesting to compare these with the raving Maenad of Scopas; but, although it is likely enough we have reproductions or imitations of them in the numerous reliefs and statues of this subject, there is really not material for such a study; from what we know of Praxiteles, we should expect to find in them the dreamy grace of an enthusiastic nature in the intervals between its bursts of excitement, rather than the Bacchic frenzy in its unrestrained fury. For with Praxiteles, so far as we can judge, grace and moderation in all things were the first consideration; and his works all show an artistic restraint which we do not find in some of his contemporaries. We may perhaps even see a certain monotony of pose in his statues, though there are always slight varieties, and the beautiful curve and flow of lines is never repeated in quite the same form. Alike in this characteristic, and in his consummate skill in the treatment of marble, we may see in Praxiteles the furthest and highest development of the purely Attic school; he is the successor of Calamis and Callimachus rather than of Phidias. The decadence begins with those who followed or imitated him; they could not surpass the grace of his conceptions or the perfection of his technique, while the higher qualities of his art did not appeal to them. The influence of Praxiteles on his successors was extremely great; but we meet it in the less interesting and less noble branches of later art,

¹ This statue was supposed to represent Chloris, the sole surviving daughter of Niobe, who founded the temple of Leto. Analogy would rather lead us to recognise in it an earlier conventional statue of the goddess herself. Cf. Eros and the Herm at Parium.

especially in the soft and effeminate character of much Graeco-Roman work. On the other hand, the bold innovations and less restrained invention of some of his contemporaries, though showing in themselves a less true and refined appreciation of the sphere of sculpture, led to the magnificent groups which, in the Hellenistic period, enthral us by their dramatic vigour and living passion. But if we judge the work of Praxiteles from itself, not from its influence, we find in it perhaps the most perfect example of all those qualities that form the peculiar excellence of Greek sculpture.

§ 47. *Silanon and Euphranor*.—These two artists are, in several ways, characteristic of the period to which they belong; and although we do not possess any works which can with certainty be ascribed to either of them, the record of their works and of their style which we gather from ancient authors enables us to learn something about them. Both of them were theoretical as well as practical artists; both wrote treatises on symmetry. Euphranor was even better known as a painter than as a sculptor, and wrote also upon colours. We may therefore safely infer that the peculiarities noted in their work were not due to accident, but to deliberate intention.

We have no record as to the nationality of Silanon, but his connections are mainly Athenian. A favourite theme of his art seems to have been ideal portraits either of mythical heroes or historical characters: he made famous statues of Achilles and of Theseus, and of the poetesses Sappho and Corinna. Such a choice of subjects seems to be due to the scope they offer for the realisation and sculptural expression of an individual character, as recorded by myth or tradition. His contemporary portraits show the same tendency. One of them was of the philosopher Plato, erected in the Academy, and made on the commission of Mithridates, who died in 363 B.C. The fame of Silanon as a portrait-sculptor has led some to attribute to him the original from which extant portraits of Plato are derived; but this view seems hardly convincing, though of course possible. A man so famous and so much venerated by his contemporaries would be sure to have other portraits made beside that due to a barbarian potentate. As to the statue of the sculptor Apollodorus, Pliny gives more detail. "Apollodorus," he says, "was so severe a critic of his own work that he often destroyed finished statues in his

inability to attain his own artistic ideals, and hence was called the 'Madman.' Silanion embodied this character in his portrait so perfectly that it seemed to be, not a man, but incarnate Rage." Such a description helps us to realise how Silanion caught the individual character of a passionate nature like that of Achilles or of Sappho. Yet, in an ideal portrait, and similarly in a portrait like that of Apollodorus, it is the passionate temperament that was rendered, rather than a particular outburst of passion, such as formed the theme of Scopas and those who followed him. The dying Jocasta, another work of Silanion, is the subject of the strange story that the artist mixed some silver with his bronze in order to give the pale hue of death to her complexion. The technical difficulties of such a process have already been mentioned.¹ But the effect that is aimed at, and the means by which it is produced, alike point to Silanion as an artist fond of bold and original methods, both in subject and in technique; and it is to the realisation and portrayal of character and emotion that his efforts appear to have been devoted.

Euphranor was a Corinthian; but his youth fell in a time when Athens and Corinth were closely allied, at the beginning of the fourth century, and he does not appear to have confined himself to the traditions of any one school. His study of proportion seems to indicate at once an imitation of Polyclitus and a departure from his canon. The criticism which Pliny records of it is probably due to Lysippean influence. He evidently adopted unusually slender forms, in a reaction against the solid and heavy build of the Polyclitan athlete. But such an excessive slimness made the head and joints appear too large — *auferat articulos macies*.² He also, as well as Silanion, devoted himself especially to ideal portraits of heroes, both in sculpture and in painting. His study of individual character is testified by Pliny in the case of his Paris, in which one could recognise at a glance all the various sides of the hero who was at once the judge of beauty for the three goddesses, the lover of Helen, and the slayer of Achilles.³ He made other statues,

¹ See p. 32.

² *Ovid. Met.*, viii. 808. That this line is probably spurious does not affect the truth of its observation.

³ Speaking of painting, he said that his Theseus was fed on beef, that of Parrhasius on roses; but this probably refers to colouring rather than proportion or character.

about which we have no clear evidence, among them one of Leto with her two young children;¹ but it is interesting to find in the list personifications like those of Valour and Hellas. By his portraits of Philip and Alexander in chariots, he also finds a place among the artists who felt the beginning of the overwhelming influence of the Macedonian conqueror. His extraordinary versatility, his careful technical study, the psychological refinement of his choice of subject,—all combine to make us recognise in him an artist not only peculiarly characteristic of his period, but of great influence upon his contemporaries and successors.

§ 48. *Timotheus, Bryaxis, Leochares*.—Timotheus was, until recently, little more than a name to us, except as one of the sculptors employed on the Mausoleum. His share in that building, as well as those of his collaborators, must be reserved for a later section. But, in addition, the great inscription of Epidaurus, recording the contracts for the building of the temple of Asclepius, has the following reference to him: "Timotheus contracted to make and supply models for sculpture² for 900 drachmas"; and again: "Timotheus contracted to supply acroteria for one of the pediments for 2240 drachmas."³ Some of these acroteria (the figures placed upon the three angles of a pediment to stand out against the sky),⁴ have actually been found. Those which stood at either side of one of the pediments, probably the western one, were figures of Nereids seated upon horses; there are also some floating figures of Victory, which probably occupied a similar position in the smaller temple dedicated to Artemis. The drapery of the Nereids, and of the better among the Victories, is of that peculiarly graceful type, either clinging to the limbs or sweeping in rich and windy folds, which we noticed in Attic work towards the end of the fifth century.⁵ The price given for these figures

¹ There is really no ground to assign to him an extant statue of this subject; it is not an unknown one in earlier art.

² *τέχνους*; this might mean reliefs.

³ The artist who contracted for the corresponding figures on the other pediment was Theotimus. It would be tempting to see in this an error of the stone-cutter, especially as the extant figures are very similar; but in such a document the error is improbable. Perhaps the similarity of names implies a close family connection, Timotheus and Theotimus being brothers who worked together and had been trained in the same school.

⁴ See p. 37.

⁵ Winter (*Mittheil. Ath.* 1894, p. 160) proposes, on the grounds of style, to

seems to imply that the execution in marble was undertaken by the sculptor himself; on the other hand, the set of models, which cost only about a third of the sum given for these three single figures, may probably have been merely designs in wax or clay, of which the execution was a matter for separate contracts. If



FIG. 87.—Amazon from pediment at Epidauros (Athens, National Museum).

so, we have a very important addition to our knowledge of the share taken by the designer in the execution of Greek architectural sculpture; but of course the inference is not a certain one. The models may well have been for the pedimental sculptures, which have also been found. They represent a

assign a Leda in the Capitoline Museum at Rome to Timotheus; but the characteristics apply too generally to Attic art of the period for such an identification to be safe.

battle of Greeks and Amazons at one end, and of Greeks and Centaurs at the other, and the design and execution are such as to favour their attribution to an Attic artist of the earlier part of the fourth century. The Amazon on horseback (Fig. 87) is full of life and vigour, and her drapery, while no less skilful than the clinging folds of the Nereids, is more restrained and appropriate to the athletic form of the warrior maiden. Timotheus also made among other works a statue of Hippolytus at Troezen, which Pausanias took to be an Asclepius, and an Artemis which was moved by Augustus to the temple of the Palatine Apollo at Rome.

Bryaxis, in addition to his work on the Mausoleum, made several famous statues of gods.¹ Libanius gives a rhetorical description of his statue of Apollo at Daphne, near Antioch, which shows that he represented the god in long drapery with lyre and cup, as if singing, a type which is familiar in statues of Apollo Musagetes, but which was treated by others beside Bryaxis. An inscription was recently found with his name in Athens; it is on a basis ornamented with reliefs of horsemen, and records the victories of a family distinguished in cavalry manœuvres. It is impossible to tell the nature of the object set up on the basis; but in the reliefs we might well expect to find at least as close a relation to Bryaxis as the Mantinean reliefs bear to Praxiteles. They are, however, but slight and sketchy work. Probably Bryaxis did not trouble much about the design—a mounted horseman, which is repeated almost without variation on three sides. The date of the work is about the middle of the fourth century. Bryaxis lived to make a portrait of Seleucus, who was born not much before this date, and so both this work and also his share in the Mausoleum must have belonged to his earlier years.

Leochares was much employed as a sculptor in Athens in the middle or latter part of the fourth century, as is attested by the numerous inscriptions on the Acropolis that bear his name. His fame in portraiture is attested not only by his being chosen by Timotheus, the son of Conon, to make a statue of his friend Isocrates set up at Eleusis, but also by his employment to make the gold and ivory portraits of the family of Philip set up in the Philippeum at Olympia. While working

¹ In these the statue of Sarapis is probably not to be included. See Michaelis, *J. H. S.* 1885, p. 290.

at Halicarnassus, he made an acrolithic statue of Ares;¹ a Zeus, which was set up as Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol at



FIG. 88.—Ganymede, after Leochares (Rome, Vatican).

Rome, was an admirable work. There is more individuality about the description given by Pliny of his Ganymede carried off by the eagle, "which, sensible of the boy's beauty and his

¹ By some this was assigned to Timotheus.

high destination, seems careful not to hurt him, even through his garment, with too rash a grip of its talons." This statue may well be recognised in extant reproductions, of which the best is in the Vatican. Though the copy is but an inadequate rendering of the original, it serves to show the originality and power of the composition, which almost transcends the bounds of sculpture in its addition of surroundings and accessions to enhance the effect. A high tree-trunk forms the background and support for the whole, which is most skilfully constructed, so that the feet of the boy do not touch the ground,¹ and the wonderful upward sweep of the whole composition is enhanced by the contrast with the dog, who sits on the ground and looks upward after his master. The outspread wings of the eagle form a broad summit to the group from which it gradually narrows down to the feet of Ganymede, and thus the effect is further increased. Eagle and boy alike strain upward in an aspiration like that which Goethe expresses in his poem of Ganymede. There is no hint of sensual meaning in the treatment of Leochares; the eagle is merely the messenger of Zeus; and we can see in his grip of the boy the care which Pliny mentions. We safely infer that the author of this group was not only an artist of great originality, but also that he sought and expressed in his art the higher and nobler meaning of the myths he adopted. It is in accordance with this that the more famous of his portraits, those of Isocrates, and of the family of Philip, were likely to have been work in which the character of the individual was idealised. His portraits of Alexander may well have contributed to the formation of the type which had so great an influence at the close of this period.

§ 49. *Scopas* is the artist in whom we see the fullest energy of the tendencies that we have already noticed in other masters of the fourth century, and in whose work we can trace the rise of the influences that were to predominate in all the finest and most vigorous art of the succeeding period. Praxiteles, and others of his contemporaries, embodied in marble or bronze not only the individual character of gods or men, but the mood in which that character found its most natural expression—*καταμίξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη*. It may seem that this quotation applies equally well to the attainments

¹ Except by a block inserted in the marble copy, and doubtless absent in the bronze original.

of Scopas, but it applies in a different and in a stronger sense. It is not merely subtle shades of character or mood that Scopas makes the theme of his sculpture, though these also find their place among his works; he excels above all in the rendering of passionate and excited emotion, in the vivid expression, in every line of face and body, of an overmastering impulse from within. It is but a step to the expression of such an impulse coming from without, such as we see in the wonderful life-like and dramatic groups of later art. But, though these are certainly to be derived in their origin from the influence of Scopas, it is doubtful whether we can recognise any such among his chief works. In them we find rather the embodiment of such a fiery and passionate nature as suggests the potentiality for such struggles, in contrast to the more passive and dreamy mood and character that give to Praxiteles his favourite themes.

The list of recorded works by Scopas is only about half as long as that assigned to Praxiteles;¹ this may be partly due to the greater fame of Praxiteles in later times, which has led to the mention of a large proportion of his works, and even to the attribution to him of certain works which are not his—an attribution which we meet in the case of Scopas also.² At the same time it is probable enough that an artist who put so much fire and passion into his work was less prolific, and less tolerant of ordinary commissions. We are also less fortunate in the preservation of his works; such copies as we possess of his independent statues owe their identification only to inference from style, and are not entirely free from the doubt that always must attend such an inference where our evidence is so scanty. Those extant works which we can attribute with a fair degree of certainty to him or to assistants working under his direction are architectural sculptures; and we have already in more than one instance seen the objections to regarding such monuments as originals from the sculptor's own hand; and, moreover, in the case of the Mausoleum, the difficulty in distinguishing the work of Scopas from that of his collaborators is so great that we have found it necessary to reserve the whole building for a special section, instead of making use of portions of its sculp-

¹ In Overbeck's *S. Q.* the list for Praxiteles is 47, for Lysippus 35, for Scopas 25.

² *E.g.* the Niobids; see § 55.

ture as evidence for the style of the different sculptors who contributed to its decoration.

Pausanias tells us that the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea was rebuilt by Scopas, after a fire which occurred in 395 B.C. If the temple was rebuilt at once, Scopas must have been a young man at the time; for he was employed on the Mausoleum, which was not finished till after the death of Artemisia in 349 B.C. It must however be admitted that the style of the sculptures seems almost incredible so near the beginning of the fourth century, and that perhaps some years may have elapsed before the temple was rebuilt. But when we are dealing with a sculptor of so startling originality as Scopas, it is not easy to say at what point of his career any particular style of work becomes possible. The employment of Scopas at Tegea while still a young man also requires explanation, for he was a native of Paros; but if the Aristandros of Paros,¹ who worked with Polyclitus at Amyclae on a dedication to commemorate the battle of Aegospotami, was his father, he may have had a family connection in the Peloponnese. Pausanias describes the temple at Tegea as far the finest in the Peloponnese, both in design and in size. He does not expressly say that the pediments are to be attributed to Scopas; but, by speaking of him as the architect of the temple, and then going on to describe in detail the sculpture that filled its pediments, he leaves a strong presumption in favour of such an attribution—a presumption fully borne out by the style of their extant remains, which are only explicable at such a period if made by a sculptor of marked originality. They have an artistic character exactly in accordance with what we learn of Scopas from literary authorities.

The pediments of the temple celebrated myths connected with it; the fell of the Calydonian boar was actually preserved within the temple, having been won by the Arcadian heroine Atalanta; and Telephus was the son of Heracles and Auge, the priestess of Athena Alea. "In the eastern pediment is the Hunt of the Calydonian boar; the beast occupied the middle of the field, and on one side of it were Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeuces, and Iolaus, and Prothous and

¹ The relationship is deduced from the fact that the names Aristandros and Scopas occur as the names of father and son in a family of Parian artists in the first century B.C.; and both names and professions were often traditional in a family.

Cometes, the brothers of Althea (Meleager's mother); on the other side of the boar is Ancaeus, who, wounded and dropping his axe, is supported by Epochus; and beside him Castor and Amphiaraus, and beyond them Hippothous, and last of all, Pirithous. In the western pediment is the battle of Telephus and Achilles in the plain of the Caicus."

Such is the description of Pausanias, which gives rise to considerable difficulties if we attempt to reconstruct from it the composition of the pediments; it is difficult to see, for example, how the figures can have been arranged, so as to



FIG. 89.—Heads from pediment at Tegea by Scopas (Athens, National Museum).
After *Berlin Antike Denkmäler*, I. 35 (from cast).

allow for the diminution in height from the centre to the ends, and, in particular, how the corners were filled. It would be interesting to know how Scopas solved these problems; but it is useless to guess how he may have solved them. The extant remains do not help us in this matter, as they consist only of the head of the boar and the heads of two heroes (Fig. 89), which must almost certainly come from the eastern pediment, though we cannot even fix with certainty the figures to which they belong.¹ In spite of the much-battered and damaged condition of the two heads, they at once distinguish themselves from all that we have hitherto considered, and indeed from all others

¹ One is bare; the other, which is helmeted, has been split in two and mended. Both are certainly male heads.

preserved to us in the remains of classical antiquity, by the extraordinary life and warmth of their expression. And although this character is essentially beyond the reach of detailed study or analysis, we may notice many details in the execution which contribute to its effect.

It is above all in the eyes that the passion of these two heads is centred, and there are two characteristics in modelling for which the eyes are remarkable; their slightly upward gaze, directed on a distant object, and the deep shadow into which they are thrown. We have seen how the archaic sculptor, realising also the importance of the eyes to the expression of the face, made them unduly prominent in his modelling, and thereby marred the very effect he was seeking to produce.¹ It was only by slow stages that Greek art came to learn how it is the muscles and bones surrounding the eye, much more than the eye itself, that offer an opportunity to the sculptor for rendering the expression of character and emotion; Scopas seems to have been the first to realise how much the expression of the eye is enhanced by the depth of its socket. This effect is partly due to the bony structure of the skull; but it depends even more upon the form of the mass of flesh above the brow—the same which we noticed in the Hermes of Praxiteles as forming the chief characteristic of the forehead. Here its treatment is much more conspicuous; it does not merely form a bar across the brow, but curves down as if in a heavy roll over the outer corners of the eyes, so that the upper eyelids actually disappear beneath it at their outer extremities; and at the same time the lower eyelids are carried up rapidly at their outer extremities to meet the upper eyelids, and in this way the visible portion of the eyeball is made much shorter in horizontal measurement; in fact, the opening of the eyes in these heads of Scopas is about 2·1 in proportion of length to breadth, as contrasted with the proportion of about 3·1 which we usually meet with in Praxitelean heads, where, as in the Hermes for example, the upper and lower lids approach one another gradually at their outer extremities, and meet in a very small angle. The wide-open and the half-shut eye which we see thus affected by the two great contemporaries are not merely due to a difference of momentary action or circumstance, but are an indication of type and temperament; the

¹ Conze, *Darstellung des menschl. Auges in der gr. Plastik.*

passionate and concentrated upward gaze which Scopas gives to his heads has left its trace on the surrounding muscles, even when he represents a figure at rest and free from exciting conditions. And it harmonises with his treatment of the rest of the face, and his selection of physical type. The mouth in these Tegean heads is half open, and shows the line of the teeth, the upper lip being drawn up in the passionate excitement of the combat; but here again we see a result of temporary action which is not without its permanent effect on the lines of the face. The proportions of the Tegean heads are remarkably square¹ and massive. This may be due partly to the fact that Scopas was, in his younger years, under the influence of the Argive school; but the strength and solidity thus attained seem more suitable to the vigour and even violence of the emotion with which the forms are animated than the more graceful and slighter proportions of Praxitelean art.

It is probable, as we have already seen, that the sculptures of these Tegean pediments belong to the earlier years of the artistic activity of Scopas; and it is certainly surprising to find them so characteristic of his style, and so marked in their contrast to other fourth-century sculptures. If the evidence as to dates is to be accepted, it must prove that Scopas showed from the first the power and originality that distinguished him among his contemporaries and gave him so great and lasting an influence over his successors. It is more remarkable still to find this character in architectural sculptures, at a time when Scopas cannot yet have collected round him a body of pupils and assistants trained in his style and methods. The inference seems an obvious one; the difficulties of explanation are only to be escaped by supposing that Scopas must have made these pedimental sculptures, or at least the heads of them, with his own hands. And such a supposition is by no means out of the question. Scopas, as a young sculptor employed as architect, would not be unlikely to employ his time at Tegea, while supervising the whole construction of the temple, in finishing with his own hands those parts of its decoration in which his own skill and training had the greatest scope.

¹ Allowance must of course be made for the fact that the head without a helmet has been cut away at the top and the back, so as to look even squarer than it really is.

While he was at Tegea, Scopas also made statues of Asclepius and Hygieia; and the statues of the same deities at Gortys in Arcadia most probably belong to the same period; there Asclepius was represented as beardless—a type which always persisted beside the more familiar bearded type of Thrasymedes: and other works in Argos and Sicyon are also likely to belong to Scopas' earlier years. Several statues in Athens and other parts of Greece are also attributed to him—among others an interesting group at Megara, representing Eros, Himeros, and Pothos—a refinement in the study of subtle mythological distinction and impersonation of three different phases of the god of love, Passion that inspires the lover, Desire that breathes from the presence of the beloved,¹ and Yearning in absence; we may imagine what Scopas is likely to have made of such a theme.

Since it is known that Scopas was employed on the Mausoleum about 350 B.C., and many of his works are recorded to have been set up in Asia Minor, it is generally supposed that he spent the later part of his career in that region, which was in later times to give free scope to those tendencies in art that owed to him their origin. A mere enumeration of these would not be profitable; but there are some of them which, from their subject, or from their association with extant works, call for more detailed attention.

Pliny tells us that when the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was rebuilt after its destruction in 356 B.C., one of the columns was sculptured by Scopas;² this is probable enough; for Scopas was employed on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus just at the time when the Ephesian temple was being rebuilt, and he may have had the commission given him by Artemisia; she is not likely to have failed to take her place among the princes who gave each a column to the temple. There were thirty-six such sculptured columns; and among the fragments of them that have been brought to England there is one of which the design is, in part, well preserved. The chances are clearly much against this being the one for which Scopas was re-

¹ See Lucian, *Deorum Judicium*, 15. ὁ Ἐρῶς ὁλος παρελθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τὴν γυναῖκα ἐρᾶν, ὃ δὲ Ἱμερος αὐτῷ σοι περιχυθεὶς . . . ἱμερόν σε θήσει.

² This is the MS. reading, and there is no reason to reject it, though the conjecture *imo scapo* for *una a Scopas* is ingenious and in accordance with the fact; the columns are sculptured on the bottom drum only, the variation in diameter being due, as Mr. A. S. Murray has pointed out, to the greater size of the corner columns; see *R. I. B. A. Journal*, 1895, Nov.

sponsible; and its style is not such as to justify us in making so uncertain an identification, though it is interesting as showing us the work of one of his associates.¹

One of the works of Scopas which Pliny selects for special praise, and calls worthy to have been the work of a whole lifetime, was a group—probably a relief—representing Poseidon and Thetis and Achilles, and Nereids riding on dolphins or hippocamps or other sea monsters, and the Tritons and many other creatures of the sea. This was carried off to Rome; it probably originally decorated a temple or other building in Bithynia.² The subject probably was the apotheosis of Achilles, when he was carried off by his mother to the Isles of the Blest, in a procession accompanied by all the denizens of the sea. A frieze now in Munich, and found in Rome near the place where this work is said to have been set up, has been thought by Brunn to be the relief described by Pliny; but many things in its design and execution show that it cannot be earlier than Hellenistic times, though we may admit that it reflects the character of Scopas' work. There are however, many representations of deities or creatures of the sea in our museums that are derived, more or less directly, from the conceptions of Scopas; and from them we may infer what the original was like.³ The character of restless yearning which we almost always find in their expression is quite in harmony with what we know of the art of Scopas. In the Tegean heads we saw a passionate nature in the energy and concentration of action; in these deities of the sea we see a vaguer longing expressed in the upturned gaze, directed on a distant and unattainable goal; and it is borne out in the liquid and flowing texture of flesh and hair, which is in contrast to the concise and vigorous modelling of the Tegean heads. It is probably a reflection of the work of the same artist dealing with a different subject and realising his conception by the same methods. It is interesting to compare these marine types with the Satyr of Praxiteles. The human but soulless expression and playful mood and the graceful figure of the creature of the woods contrast strongly with the uncouth form, the eternal longing for

¹ See below, p. 420.

² The reason for this supposition is that the man who brought it to Rome had just been governor of that district.

³ See Brunn, *Personification des Meeres* in his *Griechische Götterideale*, p. 68. The suggestive remarks of Brunn are the basis of the character here assigned to the deities of the sea.

some gift or quality denied by nature, that is characteristic of the personifications of the sea ; and in the two alike choice of subject and method of expression show Scopas and Praxiteles each unsurpassed in his own field. Another expression of passion, or rather of divine inspiration, may be seen in the famous Bacchante of Scopas set up in Byzantium. She was represented in the full raving of Dionysiac frenzy, holding in her hand a kid that she had slain in the orgies of the god. Though such a subject is preserved to us in many reliefs and other works of art, which doubtless draw their inspiration from Scopas, they cannot be regarded as more than repetitions of a type which he had originated. Unfortunately we are but ill informed as to details ; besides two or three epigrams, which testify to the marvellous life and frenzy that Scopas had infused into the marble, we have only a rhetorical description by Philostratus, in which the redundant and meaningless verbiage obscures or destroys all accuracy of meaning. From what we know of Scopas from other sources, we should be inclined to recognise the type at least of his Bacchante in the figure in wild excitement, with head thrown back and upward gaze, and often with half a kid in one hand, which we see on late reliefs ;¹ but the identification can only be a conjecture.

We must now pass to other statues of gods or heroes by Scopas which have been recognised with more or less probability in works of minor art, or even in extant statues. Among these is the Apollo Smintheus, with the field mouse from which he took his name, set up at Chryse in the Troad ; but the statue in the temple of the god which is figured on the coins of that town is now generally admitted to be distinct from the work of Scopas, which was probably set up as a dedication beside it. The Ares of Scopas, a colossal statue transported from Pergamum to Rome, has been recognised with considerable probability on a relief of Trajan's time, set in the arch of Constantine. The god is represented nude and seated, with a spear in his right hand, a Victory seated on his left ; but the scale and execution of the relief do not give much clue as to style. The Apollo Citharoedus, singing, and in long drapery, which was set up by Augustus in the Palatine temple at Rome, was also a work of Scopas ; but attempts to recognise it in statues by the help of coins have led

¹ Cf. Fig. 126, p. 504.

only to confusion.¹ Recently a constructive criticism,² based on the study of the Tegean heads, has led to more satisfactory results, and has shown that the direct influence of Scopas may be traced in a whole series of extant statues, some of which may even be regarded as copies of his works. It is mainly in the treatment of the eye and the surrounding portion of the face, and in the expression resulting therefrom, that the character of Scopas may be recognised. Chief among the works that show this character is a very fine Greek Heracles in Lansdowne House, which may well be a copy either of the Heracles recorded to have been made by Scopas at Sicyon, or of some other unrecorded statue of the hero.

However this may be, we have seen enough of the work of Scopas to be prepared for the influence which we shall find him exercising throughout the following period. If others of his predecessors and contemporaries had made their marble live, he added to that life an intensity of passion and expression far beyond what had hitherto seemed possible. To a Greek passion and suffering are expressed by the same word, pathos; and we need not be surprised to find that his imitators in a later age broke down the barrier that he had never transgressed, and found in pain and death a theme for that dramatic instinct to which he had given play. But we must not lay the artistic excesses of Pergamene and Rhodian art to the charge of Scopas, any more than we must lay the too great delicacy and effeminacy of Graeco-Roman work to the charge of Praxiteles. Both masters had an influence which went far beyond what they themselves performed; but to Scopas, more than any other man, is due all that is most vigorous and robust in the art of the Hellenistic age.

§ 50. *The Mausoleum*.—Our literary information as to this tomb, which is the most magnificent of the princely monuments of Asia Minor, is derived from a story repeated with some variations by Pliny and by Vitruvius. Pliny's version is the completer, and as it is practically the basis of discussion, we had better have it before us in full. "Scopas," he says, "had as rivals and contemporaries Bryaxis, Leochares, and

¹ The type similar to the statue of Apollo Musagetes in the Vatican is found on coins of Nero, and is distinct from that found on coins of Augustus with the legend Apollini Aetio.

² By Dr. B. Gräf, in the *Röm. Mittheil.*, 1889, p. 199.

Timotheus; and we must speak of them all together, since they collaborated in the sculpture of the Mausoleum. This is the monument built to Mausolus, prince of Caria, who died in 351 B.C., by his wife Artemisia; and the work of these artists mainly contributed to place it among the seven wonders of the world. . . .¹ The sculpture on the east side was by Scopas, that on the north by Bryaxis, that on the south by Timotheus, that on the west by Leochares. Before the completion of the work the queen died; but they went on until they had finished it, for their own fame and a record of their art, and it still preserves their emulation. There was a fifth artist also. Above the colonnade is a pyramid, equal in height to the lower part, and narrowing by 24 steps to the summit; on the top is a marble chariot made by Pythis." Vitruvius also says that the various sides of the building were undertaken by different artists; these he gives as Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Praxiteles, and perhaps also Timotheus. This was practically all that was known of the Mausoleum until, in 1846, twelve slabs from its frieze were presented to the British Museum by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and the interest they excited led to the complete excavation of the site at Halicarnassus by Sir Charles Newton in 1857. The building had been almost entirely destroyed by the Knights of St. John, when they built their castle of Budrum out of its materials, and burnt its sculptures for lime; but all that remained has been recovered and brought to England, and suffices to show the nature of the building and of the sculpture that decorated it.

As to the details of the plan and construction of the Mausoleum, much doubt is still possible; it is, in particular, difficult to fix the places where the various parts of its sculptural decorations were introduced. These consist of the following:—

1. A colossal group of two figures, Mausolus and Artemisia, probably set up within the building.²

¹ Then follow statements as to the dimensions of the building, which are only confusing, as some of the numbers recorded in the text are obviously wrong, and no simple emendation makes them probable. Mr. Oldfield has proposed a new and very ingenious restoration, with cruciform plan, thus preserving Pliny's numbers. Perhaps a simple emendation is to read *exiii* for *lxiii* as the length of the larger sides; then there is nothing impossible. But this question belongs to architecture, not to sculpture.

² These are often supposed to have stood in the chariot on the top; but their state of preservation, and a consideration of proportion, show this to have been impossible. See P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, 1892-3, p. 188.

2. Various statues, some equestrian, probably set up round the building—possibly some between the columns of the colonnade, as in the Nereid monument.

3. A frieze representing Greeks and Amazons fighting.

4. A frieze of rougher work, representing Greeks and Centaurs.

5. A smaller frieze, of very fine work, representing a chariot-race.

6. Various metope-like panels.

7. A colossal chariot, with four horses, set up on the summit of the building.

8. A set of lions, of which the position is doubtful.

It is not certain where any of these friezes or panels were placed; but the coarser execution and worse preservation of the Centaur frieze seem to show that it was high up in the building and in an exposed position, perhaps as the frieze of the Ionic order over the colonnade; while the fine work and preservation of surface in such portions of the chariot frieze as have been preserved, show that it was in a sheltered position where it could be seen from near, perhaps within the colonnade; we have seen how in the case of the Parthenon frieze an advancing procession is a peculiarly appropriate subject for a position where it would be seen through the columns by one who walked along the outside of a colonnade.¹ There seems no place left for the Amazon frieze except around the basis below the colonnade; and here it is usually placed, as well as the panels.

It is clear that when the sculptural decoration of the building is so varied and so extensive, it is a very difficult task to assign to each of the four masters who are said to have been employed in making it his share of the whole. For the present it is best to consider in more detail those parts of it which are of the greatest artistic merit or interest.

The colossal statues, and especially that of Mausolus (Fig. 90), which is the better preserved, offer a very fine example of fourth-century portraiture, full of individual character, yet with a breadth and restraint of style which avoids giving prominence to minor or accidental peculiarities. The figure, though not of ideal proportions, is dignified and even majestic; the full and

¹ Of course if the colonnade was mounted on a high basis, the frieze could only be seen thus from a distance; but, even so, the effect would be fine.

rich folds of the drapery are rendered with a skill not entirely free from realistic touches in detail. The type of face is obviously not Greek, with its sloping eyes, square brow, and



FIG. 90.—Portrait of Mausolus (British Museum).

straight hair, rising over the forehead and brushed back ; but it is noble and intelligent. The statue, in short, represents to us Mausolus as he was, in feature and in character, but it represents

him as the wise and energetic prince of Caria, and as the worthy subject of so splendid a monument.

Some of the statues which stood around the building probably represented the attendants of the prince. Of these only fragments remain; among them the most beautiful is a portion of a horse and his rider, who wears the Persian close-fitting trousers.¹ The rendering of both horse and man, so far as preserved, is unsurpassed in quality, whether in modelling of surface and rendering of texture, or in the life and action of the horse's forward plunge and his rider's easy seat; but so much is lost that what survives excites our regret for what is gone even more than our admiration for what is left.

The Amazon frieze (Fig. 91) is the most extensively preserved of all the sculpture of the Mausoleum, and it also gives us an excellent opportunity for comparing the treatment of the subject by the greatest sculptors of the fourth century with that which we have seen in friezes made in Athens or under Attic influence, as at Phigalia. The first contrast we notice is in the design, which is less crowded than in the earlier works, thus giving each figure room to stand out by itself; and full advantage is taken of this opportunity for each individual figure, as it sways far to one side or the other in vigorous action, to contrast the poise and sway of its limbs with the continuous and rigid line of the architecture above and below. The action is just as violent in the Phigalian frieze, yet the mass of figures prevents our feeling its artistic effect so clearly as in the Mausoleum reliefs. The more slender proportions of the later figures enhance the effect of their sparser grouping; while the wonderful variety prevents any hint of repetition, even in detail. The beauty of the individual figures, whether male or female, has also taken much of the artist's care; they vary of course in excellence, as is usual in architectural sculpture, but are for the most part admirable both in proportions and in modelling of details; the slim and lithe figures of the combatants on either side never become too slender for strength, while the wonderful spring and life that pervade the whole carry the eye along from figure to figure and from group to group by a composition perfectly adapted to the long and narrow field. Though there is perhaps a tendency for the light drapery of the Amazons to blow aside more than before, and to disclose the beauty of their figures,

¹ Fine reproduction in Mitchell, *Selections*, pl. ix.

they never depart from the athletic type of the warrior maidens, as occasionally in later art. The eagerness and rush of combat expressed in every face and every action have never been caught with more vigour; and the tense strain of the whole composition seems to clasp it in a band around the building which it decorates.

The smaller frieze of charioteers is not well enough preserved for us to judge as to the general effect or variety of its composition; but the single figure of a charioteer (Fig. 92), which is the best preserved fragment of it that remains, is also perhaps the finest of the relics of the Mausoleum now preserved in the British



FIG. 91.—Slab from large frieze of Mausoleum, with Amazons (British Museum).

Museum. He is represented as leaning forward in his car, while the long charioteer's chiton, which reaches to his feet, curves to the wind in sweeping folds. But it is above all the expression of the face, with its intense and eager straining towards the distant goal, that gives this figure its unique character. The forehead is deeply furrowed, and there is a heavy bar of flesh over the brow, overshadowing the deep-set eyes, which gaze upwards into the distance. It is difficult to imagine a finer rendering of the ideal charioteer, as described by Shelley :—

Others, with burning eyes, lean forth, and drink
With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
As if the thing they loved fled on before,
And now, even now, they clasped it.

The expression, though not the detail of execution, reminds

us irresistibly of the Tegean heads by Scopas. This comparison brings us back to the question which we can no longer evade: How are these sculptures to be distributed



FIG. 92.—Charioteer from small frieze of Mausoleum (British Museum).

among the four artists who are said to have made them, and what evidence and criteria do we possess for such a distribution? For comparison with other monuments we are now fairly

well equipped. We have the Tegean heads to show us the style of Scopas, the Epidaurus sculptures for Timotheus, the Ganymede for Leochares, and a basis probably designed by Bryaxis, without going beyond what is established by satisfactory evidence, or arguing from one conjecture to another. Yet the results that have so far been attained are far from convincing; and, in particular, a division according to style and other indications of the Amazon frieze among the various artists, by the greatest master of criticism of style, Brunn, proved to be inconsistent with the indications offered by the slabs themselves, when their backs and sides could be examined during their remounting in the British Museum. This is a warning; but perhaps it need not discourage us, if we attribute the failure not so much to error of method, as to an attempt to conform to unnecessary and impossible conditions. The statement of Pliny and Vitruvius, to the effect that each sculptor undertook one side, is clear enough; but we do not know precisely the authority on which it rests; and when we come to consider the probabilities of the case, and the variety of the friezes and other decorations that ran all round the building, it certainly seems incredible. The Mausoleum was not, according to the accepted restorations, like a temple, in which it was possible enough for the sculptural decoration of either end—especially of the pediments—to be undertaken by a different sculptor. But each of the friezes, wherever it may be placed on the building, must have gone round it on all four sides, and a spectator, when at or near one of the corners, could see two sides at once; such, indeed, was the aspect in which the peculiar design of the Mausoleum could best be appreciated. It is clear, therefore, that the composition of the friezes, or of any two adjacent sides, ought really to form a single design; and, in a building designed and completed with such supreme artistic skill that it became one of the seven wonders of the world, it is incredible that the portion of each frieze which happened to fall on each of the four sides was left to be designed, independently of his colleagues, by the artist to whom the side was assigned. For it is clear, both from the circumstances and from the actual execution of the remains, that it was the design, not the execution, that these four great sculptors undertook. In fact, the only rational distribution of the work would be the assignment of the entire design of each frieze to a single sculptor; if four

great masters were employed, the assignment of one side to each of them is just the kind of traditional tale that would grow up among ignorant *ciceroni* on the spot, or among equally ignorant compilers of such tradition. Under these conditions, it may not perhaps prove impossible to solve a problem that has hitherto proved insoluble. Careful and detailed study and comparison are of course necessary before a definite result can be reached, and this is not the place for so complicated a discussion. But we may perhaps be justified, on the ground of the similarity to the Tegean heads which we noticed in the charioteer, in suggesting at once that the small frieze owes its design to Scopas, though some details seem to show that the actual execution was done by an assistant under his supervision. Both the careful finish of the work, which seems to imply that it was placed where it could be seen from near, and the good preservation of the surface, which shows that it was in a protected position, confirm the opinion that it was a part of the sculpture undertaken by Scopas, who was probably the eldest and certainly the most distinguished of the artists employed.

However this may be, the sculpture of the Mausoleum takes a very high place in the great series of architectural monuments which preserves to us so much of the original work of Greece, while we are dependent to a great extent on copies for our knowledge of the independent statues made by the chief masters. We have already seen its relation to the sculptures made in the fifth century under Attic influence; and it is no mere accident that we find the most perfect example of the development of the same art in Asia Minor. We shall see in the next period how the sculptors of that region continued the work of Scopas and his colleagues, and how the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus shows an intermediate stage between the monuments of Athens and those of Pergamum.

§ 51. *Attic tombstones*.—We must now turn to a series of monuments which will in many ways carry us back to the style and character of an earlier period. The Attic tombstones and their reliefs may indeed seem to reflect the character of the fifth century rather than of the fourth; but the great majority of those preserved in Athens and in other museums were actually made in the fourth century. It was natural that such works of minor art, made by artisans rather than artists, should cling to the tradition of the great days of Attic art. Many of the work-

men who afterwards devoted themselves to this and other trades must have been employed on the magnificent buildings with which Athens was decorated under the administration of Pericles, or while Attic artists continued to produce such works as we see in the Erechtheum. And when, in the decline of state expenditure upon sculpture, they turned the skill they had acquired to meet the requirements of private demand, they still preserved and handed on to their successors those traditions which they had acquired while working under Phidias and his associates. We may therefore expect to find in the tombstones an artistic conservatism which might sometimes mislead us as to their date; but sometimes the tradition is broken, and a new influence is felt; several of the reliefs show distinct traces of the innovations due to Scopas or to Praxiteles.

The subject of the tombstones is too complicated a question to be discussed here; most of those that concern us for our present purpose represent scenes from ordinary life, showing the deceased in the midst of his characteristic pursuits and surroundings. Thus the athlete appears with his strigil and his oil-flask; the hunter with his dog; a lady is represented playing with her children or her jewels (Fig. 93); and each is accompanied by his attendants or companions, whether slaves or pet animals. Whatever be the mythological origin of these scenes, we can hardly doubt that the intention of the sculptor of the fourth century was merely to represent the deceased as he had been in life, partly to recall him to his relatives and friends as they had known him at his best; partly perhaps also the relief was regarded as a gratification to the person buried below it, since it perpetuated in marble the pursuits and enjoyments which had been his in life, and of which some vague and shadowy semblance might still be his in the other world. Sometimes there seems to be a definite reference to some event in the life of the deceased or to his death; thus Dexileos (Fig. 94), who, as the inscription tells us, was one of the five knights who fell in a skirmish in the Corinthian territory in 494 B.C., is represented on horseback, transfixing with his spear a fallen enemy. The scene doubtless refers to the life of Dexileos as a knight, and even to the last battle in which he lost his life; but it is his triumph not his death that is depicted. The tombstone of Hegeso, in its delicate and graceful pose, and its admirable treatment of low relief, and that of Dexileos, with



FIG. 93.—Tombstone of Hegeso (Athens, Ceramicus).

its life-like and spirited group, and its almost free figures in high relief, may serve as two of the best examples of those Attic tombstones, and are not unworthy of the traditions of those who had worked on the Parthenon.



FIG. 94.—Tombstone of Dexileos (Athens, Ceramics).

Often we find a monument not representing merely the deceased and his attendants, but a family group, sometimes of two figures only, sometimes containing many members. And in such groups we often find a reference, direct or indirect, to the death of the deceased. Not, of course, that a death-bed

scene is represented, except in the rarest of cases; sometimes the hint of departure is only given in a general shade of chastened melancholy that pervades the scene; sometimes one of the party is having her sandals put on as if about to start for a journey; very often the two principal figures are represented as clasping hands in a long farewell. It is not always easy to identify the particular person over whom the monument was set up; indeed, it was often intended as a common monument for the whole family whose names are inscribed over the figures; and the sense of death and parting is general rather than individual. And indeed both groups and figures are to be taken as types rather than personal portraits. Often they correspond only approximately to the names inscribed; and it is probable that in most cases they were not specially made to order in commemoration of any family or individual, but were kept in stock, and selected by the purchaser so as to fit his requirements as appropriately as possible. The execution, as might be expected, is of very uneven merit, and the style of some workshops may easily be distinguished; but in spite of all defects, such as a tendency to clumsiness in proportions and to a coarse execution in details, what is most striking in them is the good taste and artistic moderation that pervade them all, and form so marked a contrast to the tasteless and pretentious monuments that offend the eye in any modern cemetery. The people who could deal thus with death—and that too in a class of reliefs that were made to suit the demand of the general public, not to satisfy the criticism of any superior officials—show a natural instinct for sculpture and a vivid appreciation of artistic expression even when their feelings are most deeply moved; and when we realise the way in which Greek life was permeated by such tendencies, we are the better prepared for the wonderful attainments of those masters whose works form the main theme of our study.

§ 52. *Thrasymedes and Damophon*.—Thrasymedes of Paros has usually hitherto been classed among the associates and scholars of Phidias. He made the statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which was by some ancient authorities attributed to Phidias himself; and the reproductions of this statue on coins show that it was a modification of the type in which Phidias embodied his Olympian Zeus. But more recent evidence has proved that, at least so far as the date is concerned, this

inference is erroneous, and thus we receive a warning against trusting too much to circumstantial evidence in assigning a period to any artist; but, on the other hand, we may still acknowledge that Thrasymedes worked under the influence of the Phidian tradition. Thrasymedes is mentioned in the



FIG. 95.—Asclepius, from Epidaurus, probably after statue by Thrasymedes (Athens, National Museum).

inscription relating to the building of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus as undertaking a contract for the ceiling¹ and the doors of the temple. The doors were of wood covered with gold and ivory, the same materials of which the great statue itself was made; and the employment of Thrasymedes on them

¹ τὰν ὀροφὰν τὰν ὑπένερθε, the lower or inner roof, which was probably of wood decorated.

strengthens his relation to Phidias, the great master of chryselephantine technique. The date of the inscription—the same one in which the contract of Timotheus for the acroteria and pedimental sculptures is also recorded—is probably about 375 B.C.; and so it is improbable, if not impossible, that Thrasymedes can have studied under Phidias in his youth. We may obtain some notion of what the statue of Asclepius was like not only from the coins on which it is represented,¹ but also from two reliefs of Greek workmanship, found at Epidaurus, which certainly reproduce its type and character, though they cannot be regarded as copies in the stricter sense (Fig. 95). The god was represented as seated upon a throne, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and stretching forth his right over the head of his sacred snake; and a dog lay beside his throne. Unlike the beardless and youthful Asclepius of Scopas, he was a bearded and dignified figure—a milder and more human version of Zeus, as became the hero whose divinity was but half recognised, and whose beneficence was confined to the cure of those ills which called for the help of a superhuman physician rather than an omnipotent deity. Such was always the most popular type of Asclepius, and Thrasymedes' statue was its recognised embodiment.

Damophon of Messene is another sculptor whose relation to Phidias has been generally recognised, though in his case it has never been supposed that he was a direct pupil of the great Attic master, since his chief works were made for his own restored city of Messene and the new city of Megalopolis, both founded in 370 B.C. But his choice of subject, since all his works are representations of gods set up in temples, and his skill in gold and ivory work, which led to his employment in repairing the statue of the Olympian Zeus, show that he followed the traditions of Phidias in a later age. So long as only literary notices² of his work were preserved, it was natural to date his artistic activity by the foundation of the two cities to which he supplied so many temple statues, especially as there is no later time when so great an energy in this direction seems

¹ *Num. Comm. on Paus.* Pl. L., Epidaurus, iii.-v.

² It is curious that these are only found in Pausanias; and this is one of the strongest arguments for the view that *Damophon* lived later than those compilers on whose work Pliny and others have drawn. But it is possible that he may have been unknown in the chief centres of art, and have been merely of local fame in Arcadia, where all his works were set up.

probable among the Arcadians. But in addition to his work at Messene and Megalopolis, Damophon made a colossal group at Lycosura in Arcadia, representing the goddesses Demeter and Despoena (the local name of Persephone, "our Lady") seated, with Artemis and the Titan Anytus standing beside them. Recent excavations have not only laid bare the temple in which this great group was set up, but many fragments of the statues themselves have been recovered, including the heads of three of the figures, and a very richly-decorated piece of drapery. These fragments show more originality of work, and more deviation from the accepted types of fifth-century or even fourth-century art, than had been expected; but there does not appear to be sufficient ground either for rejecting their attribution to Damophon, or for reconsidering the opinion as to his date which was before based on sound reasoning. That Damophon was in some ways independent of his contemporaries was previously acknowledged; what we learn from these statues is that he not only clung to some of the traditions of an earlier age, but also introduced some characteristics with which we are not familiar in Greek art until a later period. There is nothing impossible in such a combination; an artist of originality, who kept himself apart from his contemporaries, would be likely enough to anticipate some of the tendencies which did not reach others until a later time. It has been stated that the architectural evidence shows that the temple at Lycosura cannot have been built until a later age; but the late characteristics about it may well enough be due merely to later repairs, and do not preclude the possibility of the work of Damophon being set up in the fourth century.¹ There is a strong individual character about the heads from Lycosura; the largest of the three, which belonged to one of the two seated figures, shows considerable breadth and dignity; the two smaller heads (Fig. 96), which belong to the two subordinate standing figures, are treated with more freedom; both have the eye-sockets hollowed, for filling with precious stones or enamel. The face of Artemis is remarkable for its lips, pouting in front

¹ Without venturing to criticise in detail the architectural evidence, which is as yet unpublished, I may record an opinion that there is nothing improbable in the view expressed in the text. The temple and basis certainly show signs of extensive repair and rebuilding in Roman times; but some of what appears to remain from the original work has a strong resemblance to what is probably fourth-century work in the neighbouring city of Megalopolis.



FIG. 96.—Heads of Anytus and Artemis, from group by Damophon at Lycosura (Athens, National Museum).

and drawn in at the sides so as to be very short; the mouth,



FIG. 97.—Drapery from group by Damophon at Lycosura (Athens, National Museum).

seen from the front, is hardly longer than the eye. This seems to be a matter of feature and temperament rather than of passing expression; it gives a remarkably life-like appearance to the head; and that of the Titan also, with its rough and dishevelled hair and beard, strongly impresses the imagination, and is not easily forgotten. The drapery (Fig. 97), with its translation into low marble relief of the rich decoration of a woven or embroidered garment, such as had also been imitated in the great gold and ivory statues of the gods, is also unique in character; it consists partly of purely decorative patterns, partly of conventional figures and of quaint dances, in which the performers wear the heads of beasts; but all are combined into a rich and harmonious effect. It is difficult to place these things in any consecutive series, and so to fix their date; but they certainly seem more probable in the fourth century than in the Roman period, to which some have wished to assign them.

Some of Damophon's other works were acrolithic; and we

have seen that the custom of making the flesh parts of a statue in white marble and its drapery in gilded wood is to be regarded as a cheaper way of getting the same effect as Phidias and others had produced by their statues in gold and ivory. Damophon also made various decorative works at Megalopolis; among them a table, ornamented with figures and groups of gods that remind us of the table of Colotes at Olympia. In spite of some difficulties, there seems on the whole a decided preponderance of evidence in favour of keeping Damophon in that position to which Brunn had assigned him from the literary evidence. He may best be understood if we regard him as a man who lived in the fourth century, but apart from the general stream of its artistic tendencies, feeling deeply the influence of the high ideals of the age of Phidias, but of sufficient originality to introduce into his art some innovations as yet unknown to his contemporaries, though they anticipate the custom of the Hellenistic age. His work for the new Arcadian confederation finds its natural place as intermediate between the art of Athens under Pericles and the art of Pergamum under the Attalids, though the regular succession of Greek sculpture passed from the one to the other by a different channel.

§ 53. *Lysippus*.—Lysippus, more than any other artist, is spoken of by the later Greeks and Romans as representative of his age, and as exercising a strong and direct technical influence over his pupils and successors; his artistic theories have even influenced our information about his predecessors, since one of the body of his pupils, Xenocrates, wrote treatises on painting and sculpture which were freely drawn on by later compilers. He was, moreover, a most prolific sculptor; it is said that he was in the habit of putting one coin from every commission he received into a vase,¹ and when his heir broke this vase after his death, the astonishing number of 1500 coins was found within it. Under these circumstances we might well expect to find many copies of statues by Lysippus in our museums; yet, strange to say, there is only one which has been identified with any degree of probability as a direct copy of his work, though repetitions or modifications of types which he originated have been recognised

¹ Pliny calls it *thesaurus*. A receptacle made for such a purpose, and broken to get at its contents, would doubtless be an earthen vase made with only one small slit for an opening, such as is still used in Greece as a "money-box."

in reliefs or minor works of art, and the indirect traces of his influence may be seen in countless examples of later Greek workmanship. This dearth of identified copies of the statues of an artist at once so famous and so prolific can hardly be altogether accidental. He worked entirely in bronze, and so there was little chance that any original work from his hand could survive; but we might well have expected to find more copies of his work characteristic enough for their identity to be undisputed.

* We have some interesting anecdotes as to the earlier years of Lysippus; he is said to have begun life as a mere artisan, a bronze-founder; such an origin might go some way to explain both the excellences and the limitations of his art. He was first stirred to a higher career by the influence of Eupompus; when this painter was asked which of the earlier masters he followed, he pointed to a crowd and replied "Imitate nature, not another artist."¹ That Lysippus should have adopted such a saying as the motto of his earlier years may at first sight appear inconsistent with the character of his art. His elaborate study of theoretical proportion, in which he used to declare that the Doryphorus (or Canon) of Polyclitus was his master, and the academic nature of his own work and of the school that surrounded him, do not seem appropriate to a man whose aim in art was to study nature itself rather than the methods of earlier sculptors; and the accepted notion of Lysippus may be gathered from a reference in Varro, who, when discussing the weight to be assigned to usage in the choice of words, appeals to the analogy of art, and says that Lysippus followed not the errors but the style of earlier artists. But the contradiction is more apparent than real; Lysippus came to be the acknowledged and unrivalled master of the Sicyonian school—a school which, in close relation with that of Argos, had been for more than a century the most closely united and the best organised in Greece, and which therefore had contributed more than any other to the advance of academic study and the continuity of artistic tradition. In the career and under the leadership of Lysippus this artistic

¹ H. S. Jones denies that Eupompus can ever have met Lysippus, even as a boy. But we have no information how long Eupompus lived; his life may well have overlapped the younger years of Lysippus. It is hard to see why the name of an artist so little known as Eupompus should be introduced, unless there is a kernel of truth in the story.

tradition reached its culminating point, and it was through his work and influence that the accumulated technical skill and theoretical study of many generations of Sicyonian and Argive sculptors was handed down to later times. Hence it was natural enough for later artists and critics to look back on Lysippus as the most academic of sculptors; but the means by which he attained his position as head of the Sicyonian school did not consist merely in a careful study of what his predecessors had done. We know that he revolutionised their system of proportions, and introduced many technical innovations and improvements; and these he derived from a direct and thorough study of nature. They are all in the direction of a less conventional and more realistic treatment, together with an introduction, to some degree, of the impressionist principle. Thus we are told that Lysippus modified the square and heavy proportion of the Polyclitan canon; he made the head smaller (about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the total height instead of $\frac{1}{7}$), the body more slender and drier in texture, thus increasing the apparent height. This last remark brings us to the most essential change of all, which affects alike proportion in general and execution in detail. Although sculptors, even in the fifth century, had not ignored the conditions under which their statues were to be exhibited, or the position from which they were to be seen, they had, in the main, made it their endeavour to imitate in bronze or marble the actual forms of nature, or such an idealised version of them as should imitate exactly the substance of the artist's conception; they, in short, made men and things "as they were." Lysippus introduced the principle of making them as they appeared to be;¹ that is to say, he did not so much consider the correctness to nature of the actual material form of his work, but rather the effect it produced on the eye of the spectator, and was, so far, an impressionist. His improvement in the treatment of hair is not simply an example of his clearness and delicacy of work even in the smallest details, but also, in part, of this impressionist tendency. The earlier sculptors in bronze had tried to imitate the actual texture and form of hair by various devices, such as inserting twisted pieces of bronze, like corkscrews, round the

¹ *Quales viderentur esse*; this is Pliny's statement, and is quite intelligible as it stands; he is evidently quoting here from an excellent and well-informed piece of criticism, probably derived ultimately from Xenocrates. There is no need to suppose he has mistranslated his Greek authority.

forehead, or even covering the head with a kind of wig of bronze plate cut into fine shreds;¹ or, when they did not do this, they covered the whole surface of hair and beard with fine lines, as if drawn with a comb across the surface, so as to imitate every separate hair. Polyclitus, who was no less famous than Lysippus for his accuracy and care in detail, had made a great advance, in selecting an arrangement of the hair at once more adapted to sculpture and more true to nature; but, in his selection of a treatment of hair which represented it as clinging close to the scalp in short curved tresses all over the head, while only the point of each tress stood out from the surface, he was choosing a form of real hair that could be exactly reproduced in bronze rather than giving to the bronze such a form that it presented the appearance of real hair. The bold and heavy masses of hair, often standing far out from the head, and giving a shadow to portions of the face, which we find so frequently in Hellenistic art, are doubtless due to the influence of Lysippus and his innovations. It is interesting to compare a similar result attained by a different means by Praxiteles in the hair of the Hermes, which, through the wonderful texture of its surface and rough sketchy treatment, gives an impression of hair, though never attempting in detail to imitate its form. This, however, is a masterpiece of marble technique. How Lysippus attained a similar effect in bronze we cannot tell from any extant statue, but can only infer from his influence on others.

So far we have been concerned with general conclusions based on the statements of ancient authors about Lysippus, or on the unmistakable traces of his influence; we must next consider such extant works as can be regarded as more or less direct copies of his statues. First among these comes the famous Apoxyomenus of the Vatican (Fig. 98)—the statue of an athlete who is employed in cleaning the oil and sand of the palaestra from his extended right arm with a strigil, which he holds in his left hand. The character of this work, not a statue of an individual athlete, but a study in athletic *genre*, and the position given to it by Pliny at the head of his description of the works of Lysippus, give some support to the opinion that it was made to embody a new theory of proportions, like the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, which Lysippus professed to have studied as his

¹ Such a bronze wig was found among the fragments on the Acropolis; see *J. H. S.* 1892-3, p. 343.



FIG. 98.—Apoxyomenus, after Lysippus (Rome, Vatican).

model, and which this new canon was intended to supersede. This opinion, however, can only be regarded as probable, and not as proved. And indeed, the very identification of the statue rests mainly on the fact that it accords so well in every way with what we are told of the style of Lysippus; for other statues of the same subject are recorded. There can, however, be no doubt that the statue in the Vatican serves admirably to illustrate the style and proportions of Lysippus, allowing for the changes that are inevitable in the translation of a bronze work into marble. The attitude at once marks the distinction between the Doryphorus of Polyclitus and the Lysippean Apoxyomenus. The Doryphorus stands, or rather advances, with the whole weight of his body resting on one foot, which is planted firmly on the ground, and there is an appearance of solid stability about his pose which contrasts most strongly with the elastic, almost momentary poise of the Apoxyomenus; though the greater part of the weight in the latter statue also is carried on one leg, the whole attitude of the body is such that a shift of the weight on to the other foot might well take place at any moment, and the athlete seems prepared either to change his pose or even to spring from his place at a moment's notice. Hence a grace and agility which greatly enhance the effect of the smaller head and lighter proportions. There is a contrast, equally strong, but of a different nature, when we compare the Apoxyomenus not with the massive athletic frame of the Polyclitan canon, but with the Praxitelean Hermes. Here the lithe and agile athlete of Lysippus, alert and in high training, contrasts with the softer and fuller form of the Attic youth, and the Lysippean body and limbs seem almost meagre beside those of the Hermes. Both alike have a grace which distinguishes them from the heavier and squarer build of the Doryphorus; but in the Hermes the difference, beyond mere proportions, is emphasised by the intellectual and contemplative character of the face, while in the Lysippean athlete it is merely physical vigour that produces a lighter and more versatile appearance.

It would not, however, be fair to criticise the attainments of Lysippus from one statue alone, more especially if that statue be intended as an embodiment of his theories of athletic art, in correction of the Polyclitan canon. That he had also a power of expressing character is sufficiently testified by the

tradition that he alone among sculptors was permitted to make portraits of Alexander, and by the descriptions of these portraits which we possess. Many extant statues or busts of Alexander survive to illustrate the descriptions, but none of them can be regarded as direct or adequate copies of the work of Lysippus, though many of them may preserve traces of his influence. His monopoly in this matter can hardly have really existed or have been rigidly enforced; for we hear of other statues of Alexander by his contemporaries, and many were certainly made by his successors. In a statue described by Plutarch he represented Alexander as gazing upwards, with his neck slightly turned to one side, in accordance with a slight malformation. This was done with such skill as to enhance the effect rather than to call attention to the deformity, as other sculptors had done, and Lysippus caught also his manly and leonine aspect, which others had lost in their attempt to render the liquid and melting gaze of his eyes. He must have embodied in his portrait a conception of the fiery and ambitious temper of the conqueror of the world which satisfied Alexander himself; and this fact alone suffices to show him a master of ideal portraiture, in which all his technical skill in detail was employed to glorify the individual character of his subject. We shall see later¹ what an influence on the course of art was exercised by such a portraiture as this.

In addition to his statues of Alexander, Lysippus made groups representing him in the midst of his companions in battle or in hunting. The great Sidon sarcophagus is covered with reliefs which recall the character of these groups, whether directly derived from them or not.²

Several statues of gods were attributed to Lysippus, among them four of Zeus; one of these was the colossus of Tarentum, 60 feet high, said by Strabo to be the largest in the world after the colossus of Rhodes. We have no certain reproductions of any of these statues of Zeus, but we may see their reflection in many statues and statuettes of the Hellenistic period. To Lysippus is probably due that leonine conception of Zeus, with mane-like mass of hair and strong bar across the forehead, which becomes prevalent after his time; and some statuettes, which seem to go back to the old nude standing type, but with

¹ § 57.

² See § 55.

the proportions and style of a later age, may show the influence of Lysippus.

A more definite identification of a type rather than of any individual statue which reproduces it is concerned with the statue of Poseidon set up in the Isthmian sanctuary ; this figure appears on a cameo representing the Isthmian games and their surroundings,¹ and also, in a more or less modified form, in some extant statues. The god is represented on the gem as standing with his left foot resting on a high rock, and his left knee bent at a right angle ; on it he leans his left elbow ; this is a pose which becomes a favourite one in the school of Lysippus, and which some go so far as to call characteristic of Lysippus himself.² His authorship of this particular statue, however, is not beyond doubt. The only authority for his connexion with it is a passage in Lucian which shows he made a bronze statue for the Corinthians which was the recognised and typical representation of Poseidon ; but there were many statues of Poseidon both at Corinth and in the Isthmian sanctuary. What became of them at the sack of the city by Mummius we do not know ; they may have been taken away by him and sent back by Julius Caesar when he founded the new Roman colony ; but neither the description of Pausanias, nor the types reproduced in coins, give us any help in identifying the particular statue made by Lysippus ; and the cameo, being of Roman period, is a doubtful authority for the time before the sack of Corinth.

Another famous statue by Lysippus was that of the sun-god, Helios, at Rhodes, who was represented driving his four-horse chariot. He made several statues of Heracles, and the subject seems to have been one which he found peculiarly congenial, to judge from the descriptions and epigrams of which these works are the themes. One of them, at Tarentum, was of colossal size, and was carried off thence to Rome, and from Rome to Constantinople ; it represented the hero as seated on his lion-skin, his right arm and leg extended, his left knee drawn up beneath him and supporting his left elbow, while his head leant on his hand, as if in depression. This conception of Heracles as a man

¹ Figured in Baumeister, p. 1390, fig. 1538.

² It is practically arguing in a circle to attribute statues to Lysippus because they are in this pose, and then infer from them that the pose was characteristic of him. This does not however invalidate the true observation that the pose is first found in works which, from their style, clearly belong to his school.

of toil and sorrows, ever performing new labours, but wearying of his gigantic task, is characteristic of Lysippus, and marks the beginning of the Hellenistic age; we can see the character of such a statue reflected in later representations of the hero, such as the Farnese Heracles at Naples, which, though in a different position, shows the same weariness and depression. Another Heracles by Lysippus, of somewhat similar character but of minute size, is said to have been made by him to decorate the table of Alexander. A whole collection of stories had gathered about this statuette, and they are recorded in the epigrams of Martial and Ausonius; from Alexander it is said to have passed through the possession of Hannibal and of Sulla to its later owners. The hero was seated looking upwards, with a wine-cup in one hand, his club in the other.

Lysippus seems not only to have been fond of such sentimental versions of mythical persons, but also, like his great contemporary, the painter Apelles, to have indulged in allegory to a degree which seems to us too artificial in its detail. He made a statue of opportunity (*Καῖρός*) which has been the subject also of many epigrams and rhetorical descriptions. Bacon quotes, "as it is in the common verse, 'Occasion turneth a bald noddle after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken'"; and the conception is now so familiar to us as to have become a commonplace. It was none the less an original device on the part of Lysippus, and it was borne out by many attributes.

Opportunity, whose sex in the Greek *Καῖρός* is masculine, was figured as a youth with long hair on his forehead and bald behind; he had wings on his ankles like those of Hermes, and bore a razor in his left hand, on which, probably, was balanced the beam of a pair of scales to which his right hand gave the decisive touch; this is a kind of visible comment on the Greek metaphor, ἐπὶ ξύρον ἴστανται ἀκμή.¹ Other accessories were added in later reliefs, on which the type is reproduced,² and even those mentioned may, some of them, be due to others than Lysippus; but the initial conception was his, and it

¹ A curious misunderstanding seems to occur in some late reliefs and descriptions, where the razor is changed to a knife, projecting backwards to cut one who grasped from thence. It would be interesting to know whether the scythe of Time is the ultimate development of this same symbol, and his hour-glass of the balance.

² See Baumeister, p. 771, figs. 823 and 824.

shows once more a tendency which belongs to the beginning of the Hellenistic age in Greece, when criticism of mythology and even of literary metaphor was to find allegorical expression in art. This is not an embodiment of an idea, or a refined study in personification, like the Eros, Himeros and Pothos of Scopas, but an unveiled allegory, depending on accessories rather than on expression of face or figure.

Lysippus was a most prolific sculptor, and he also shows great variety in his choice of subject; yet it is a variety with certain limitations. He never worked in any material but bronze, though in this he showed unrivalled skill, whether he was making a colossal figure 60 feet high or a small statuette. And in the list of his works there are hardly any female figures—none of any note, if we except a drunken flute-player, as to which we have no further information. But his technical skill and study of proportion gave him the greatest influence not only on his own school and his immediate followers, but on the art of the whole Hellenic world. His intimate association with Alexander, and the numerous and varied works which he made for his great patron, whether portraits or groups representing hunting or battle scenes, also gave him a position of peculiar advantage for directing the artistic tendencies evolved by the new conditions of social and political life. Thus Lysippus seems not only to stand at the end of the series of the great masters of independent Greece, but also at the beginning of the Hellenistic age when the art and culture of Greece were to spread over the civilised world, and to group themselves about many centres remote from the country of their origin. The work of Scopas and others in Asia Minor had been a preparation for this change; but it was to Lysippus that the chief sculptors of the succeeding age looked back as their immediate master. It was his methods and his artistic skill that chiefly affected the form of their work, though they had to look more to others for intellectual and emotional inspiration. Though we have so little that we can quote as the direct product of his studio, his influence can be recognised in the great mass of the sculpture of a later period. If his artistic individuality is hard to grasp, this is chiefly because we find it diffused through the works of so many sculptors who, consciously or unconsciously, followed his teaching.

§ 54. *Pupils of Lysippus.*—From what has already been said,

it is clear that we have to trace the influence of Lysippus in a wider circle than that of his acknowledged pupils ; and moreover we shall recognise some of his scholars among those sculptors who are representative of the Hellenistic age. But there is a narrower circle of his associates, some of them connected with him by family ties also, which claims notice as an appendix to his own artistic career. Among these is his brother *Lysistratus*, who is said to have been the first among Greek sculptors to take a cast from the face of his model, and then to work upon the cast itself. His process was to make a mould of plaster on the face, and then to insert into it a coat of wax, doubtless backed by harder material ; and on the wax he did his modelling. This shows, in the first place, that the process used by Lysippus and his associates was not the same as that of Polyclitus, who finished the surface of his model in clay, but was the simpler *cire perdue* process customary at the present day.¹ But the fact is still more interesting from the light it throws on the artistic principles of Lysistratus. Of course a great deal depends upon the nature of the work expended by him on the wax after it had been moulded ; if this was very thorough and went deep, then the device of casting might be regarded merely as a mechanical process to save labour in the earlier stages of preparing the model for a bronze statue. But we are probably justified in inferring that the man who used such a process aimed at an exact and realistic reproduction of his subject, though he of course did not ignore the necessity of a complete remodelling of the surface if, to use the words of Lysippus himself, it was to represent not the actual but the apparent forms of nature. *Euthykrates*, the son of Lysippus, is said to have followed his father in the consistency and thoroughness of his work rather than in his grace and lightness, and to have aimed at the severer, not the more pleasing side of his artistic excellence ; in subject also he followed his father very closely ; thus he made Alexander as a hunter, battle and hunting groups, chariots, a Heracles—all repetitions of the favourite subjects of Lysippus. His only other recorded work is the statue of Trophonius at his oracle at Lebadeia—a theme which offered ample scope for mysterious and impressive treatment. *Tisicrates*, the pupil of Euthykrates, is also mentioned as a close imitator of Lysippus—so close, that his works could hardly be distinguished from those

¹ See p. 25.

of the master himself. Besides portraits of the companions of Alexander, he made a statue of a "Theban sage," perhaps an ideal image of Pindar or of Teiresias—either a fine subject for the embodiment of a noble and individual personality.

Other pupils, besides *Chares* and *Eutychides*, to whom we shall have to recur in the next section, are barely known to us by name or by the mention of a single work. A boy in the attitude of prayer, now in Berlin, standing with outspread arms, may give us some notion of a work of this kind by *Boedas*; but the subject is a common one, and the identification cannot be regarded as more than a guess, though the proportions and attitude of the figure suggest a more youthful version of the *Apoxyomenus*.

Such a band of pupils, with their close imitation of their master, both in style and subject, attests his personal ascendancy, and prepares us for the wider spread of his influence over his contemporaries and successors.

§ 55. *Other Sculptures of the Period.*—In addition to such works as are either originals from the hand of the masters of the fourth century, or copies directly derived from them, we possess many sculptures of this period which are among the chief treasures of our museums, whether for their intrinsic beauty or for the light they throw on the history of sculpture. It is difficult to select where the material is so rich; yet a bare enumeration would be useless, and little more is possible unless we confine ourselves to the consideration of a few characteristic examples. A visit to any of the great museums will add to the number others perhaps as beautiful and as interesting; but, with some general knowledge of the artistic character of the chief artists of the fourth century, and also of the works made by others more or less under their influence, we should not find it difficult to appreciate the sculpture of the period wherever we may see it.

One of the chief treasures of the British Museum is a statue brought from Cnidus by Sir Charles Newton, where it was found in the precinct of the Deities of the Lower World (*Demeter*, *Persephone*, and *Hades*, Fig. 99). Its identification as *Demeter* sorrowing for her daughter—the *mater dolorosa* of ancient art—cannot be doubted when we look at the pose and expression of face and figure; but we have no external evidence as to the sculptor by whom the statue was made. The body is of inferior



FIG. 92.—Demeter, from Chidus (British Museum).

local marble. The dignified pose of the seated figure, and the rich and varied folds of the drapery, are adequate as a setting for the head, but are not otherwise in themselves remarkable. The head, of Parian marble, is clearly the work of a master. The face is remarkably even and regular in shape. Its modelling is soft and refined, but perhaps rather more clear-cut in its outlines than that of the Hermes of Praxiteles, with its almost imperceptible transitions. The expression of the eyes is treated with wonderful skill; they are set in deeply below the brow, which is smooth and even above their sockets. The eyeballs have something of the upward gaze, fixed on a distant object, which we saw in the Tegean heads; but the curve of the lower eyelid rises to meet the upper lid more at the inner corners of the eyes than at the outer. It is the device adopted by Scopas, but used in a different manner and for a different effect. In the Tegean heads we saw an expression of violent and excited passion; here it is a chastened and reflective melancholy, as of resignation after long weeping; and even the physical results of such sorrow are preserved in the modelling round the eyes and in the lines of the mouth. The head has many points of resemblance both to the style of Scopas and to that of Praxiteles; and it was probably made by a sculptor who was the associate of both of them during their activity in Asia Minor; but we have not at present any criteria to help us in assigning it to any of those whose names are known to us. Whoever he was, his power of expressing in marble the effect of emotion on the character and the more passive mood which succeeds the violent outburst of passion, is such as to rank him high even among those masters of the fourth century whose study was mainly devoted to such themes.

Another head in the British Museum serves as a good example of the artistic types of the gods preferred by the sculptors of the fourth century. This was found in Melos, and represents a bearded man (Fig. 100). The softness of the modelling and the moderation and restraint in the rendering of the hair and beard distinguish it as probably belonging to the Attic school of the fourth century. It has sometimes been called Zeus; more probably it represents Asclepius, as a milder and more human form of the divine power. We have already noticed the statue of Asclepius made by Thrasymedes of Paros at Epidaurus. There are no grounds for connecting this Melian

head directly with his work ; but, as a contemporary image of the same god, and coming probably from the same school, it may help us to realise what the statue at Epidaurus may have been like ; it is also really the best example that we possess, from a good period of Greek art, of the type of bearded head belonging properly to Zeus ; and although it is here modified

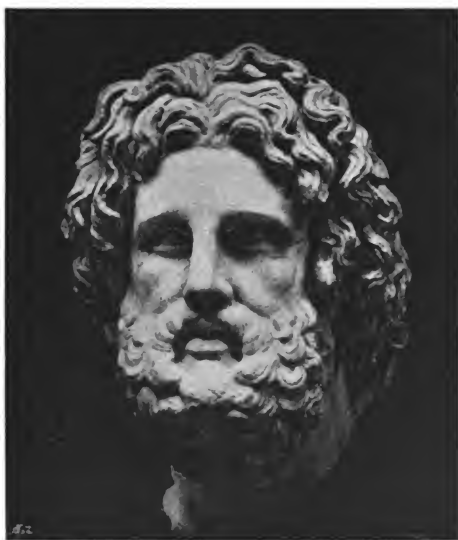


FIG. 100.—Head of Asclepius, from Melos (British Museum).

to suit Asclepius, and the mildness and beneficence of the deity are expressed rather than his majesty and power, still we may use it, with this limitation, even in our attempts to imagine the appearance of the Olympian Zeus.

Among the many fourth-century heads in Athens there is one that calls for especial mention.¹ It evidently represents

¹ It was found on the south of the Acropolis, and is sometimes called Themis, for no particular reason.

some goddess—whom we cannot tell. The simple and oval form of the face, without that delicate play of surface which we see in Praxitelean work, the expression of the eyes, and the half-open mouth, showing distinctly the line of the teeth, make

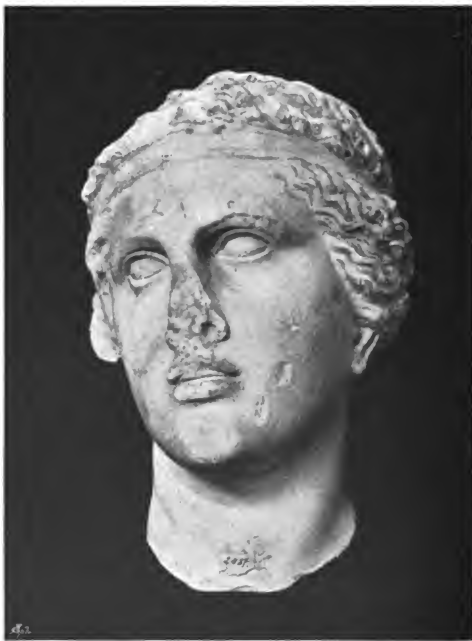


FIG. 101.—Head from S. of Acropolis (Athens, National Museum).

it seem appropriate as a feminine counterpart to the Tegean heads by Scopas; and we are probably justified in assigning it to an Attic artist working under his influence, though not to himself. The fold of flesh over the outer part of the eyelids comes down close to them, but does not hide them entirely; and the under lids curve up at the outer extremity, so produc-

ing the wide-open eye which contrasts so strongly with the half-shut lids of the Hermes and Aphrodite of Praxiteles. The inflated nostril, as well as the eyes and mouth, seems to show a passionate nature in repose—yet another example of that attribution to the gods of mood and individuality so common in the fourth century. Here the breadth, simplicity, and dignity of the work are most impressive; they contrast strongly with another head,¹ preserved in more than one replica, of which the best example is also in Athens. This other head has, too, a remarkably individual character; it is of a lighter and more graceful, almost girlish type, with a narrower and higher forehead, of which the effect is enhanced by the hair drawn up into a knot on the top of the head; but it suggests no possibility of deep or strong feeling, such as raises the head represented in Fig. 101 to a unique position among its fellows.

Other works peculiarly characteristic of the fourth century, and at the same time anticipating, alike by their artistic tendency and their geographical position, the character of the succeeding age, have been found in Asia Minor. We have already seen something of the early temple of Artemis at Ephesus; and the sculptured drums of its columns—some of them dedicated by Croesus—were among the most characteristic monuments of early Ionic art. The temple, again, takes a similar position in the art of the fourth century. It was destroyed by fire in 356 B.C., and rebuilt with even greater magnificence, princes contributing as before to the building, and, as Pliny says, “giving each a column.” Thirty-six of these columns were sculptured, one of them by Scopas.² Several fragments of the sculptured drums from Ephesus are now in the British Museum, but one only in a complete enough state to give us an adequate notion of its design and style (Fig. 102). There is of course no reason for supposing that this, the one column preserved, is the one which Scopas made. But his influence and that of his associates was at this time predominant in Asia Minor, and so it is likely enough to reflect the character of his art, even if it be not by his own hand. This probability is borne out to some extent by the composition and style of the relief, though there are other elements in it which do not seem consistent with what we know of his work. The best-preserved portion of the

¹ *Mith. Ath.* 1885, Pl. ix., cf. viii.

² See above p. 382.

drum represents a female figure in rich drapery ; on the right of her is Hermes, nude but for a chlamys wound about his left arm ; in his right, which is lowered, he holds his caduceus. He advances slowly, with head thrown back ; his weight rests



FIG. 102.—Drum of column from Ephesus (British Museum).

on his right foot. In the way in which his left foot is drawn after it, bent at the knee, which almost leans against his right knee, we can recognise a Praxitelean attitude—and even the head, though thrown back, as in some of the works of Scopas, shows little if any trace of the passionate nature which is usually associated with the attitude. On the left of the

female figure is a very graceful winged boy, who might almost be taken for Eros, but for the large and heavy sword which he wears slung over his shoulder. He stands almost full-face, and his pose, especially the position of his legs, again recalls the studied grace of the followers of Praxiteles. The best explanation of this scene is that we see here Alcestis between Thanatos, a gentle Death, such as he might well be imagined by those who carved the Attic tombstones, and Hermes Psychopompus, who is waiting to guide her on her path to the other world. If this is the true interpretation, then the attitudes and character of the various persons, however beautiful in themselves, seem strangely incongruous with a scene of so much pathos and dramatic interest. The artist seems most concerned to find a graceful motive for each figure; the lady is even fixing her mantle over her left shoulder. It is impossible to attribute such a design to Scopas, the master of passion; though the artist who made it may have worked with Scopas, and learnt some of his mannerisms. There is more of the influence of Praxiteles; but the work is probably that of an associate, who had caught much of the grace of the Attic masters. By his personification of Death he has exemplified in the most beautiful form that talent for mythological subtlety in which the fourth century excelled.

Among the works of sculpture brought from Asia Minor to enrich the treasures of Rome, few if any groups are more famous than that which represented the slaying of the children of Niobe by Apollo and Artemis. The rivalry of Niobe with Leto, and the terrible vengeance exacted for Niobe's presumptuous boast, form a subject represented in works of art of various periods. It appeared on the throne of the Olympian Zeus, and we often find it on vases, on sarcophagi, and on other monuments. The great group, which was brought by Sosias to Rome in 35 B.C., and set up by him in a temple dedicated to Apollo, probably came from Cilicia, where it may have adorned either a temple or a tomb. Pliny says that it was a disputed question in his time whether the group was to be attributed to Scopas or to Praxiteles. The value of such a statement may be estimated by the weight which we should attach to a similar statement in modern days, if a collector told us that some work of art he had discovered in a remote locality was said to be either by Raphael or by Lionardo, but he did not know which. It is incredible



FIG. 103. —Niobe and her youngest daughter (Florence, Uffizi).

that, on the basis of such an authority, many archaeologists have confined their discussion to the weighing of the claims of Scopas and Praxiteles to the authorship of these statues, without even considering any other possibility. The tradition may have some kernel of truth, in assigning the origin of the sculptures to the right period; but even this must be tested by the study of the statues themselves. Most of the extant statues which have been recognised as belonging to the group of the Niobids are now in Florence; the majority of them were found together, but others have been added later. The Florence statues are for the most part inferior in execution, and so we must not draw inferences from the details or defects of their style. The finest of all is a statue of one of the daughters, now in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican (Fig. 104). How or where the original was set up we cannot tell; but it is evident that it was placed against a background of some sort, since several of the figures are unfinished, and others present an awkward appearance if seen from behind; it is also evident that it formed a connected group of which the central figure, which is also the largest, was that of Niobe protecting her youngest daughter (Fig. 103). The arrangement does not, however, fit well into a pediment. The ground too, on which the figures stand, is not represented as level, but as a rocky surface with elevations and depressions that are used to vary the attitude of the figures. It is probable that Apollo and Artemis were not themselves a part of the composition as in some later renderings of the scene; they are sufficiently represented by the arrows which come from their hands. Their victims see or feel the sudden and inevitable fate that comes on them from above, and it is in the various ways in which they meet it that the charm of the work consists. In no case do we get a pathological study of the pain and contortions of the wounded and dying; but the moderation of the fourth century still prevails, and so tends, more than anything else, to confirm the tradition assigning the group to this period. Some are already dead or sinking in the languor of death, but their death has nothing of the struggle or agony which later sculptors did not always avoid in dealing with such a subject. Those that are dead seem to have fallen by a sudden and painless stroke, and, even when the wound is the motive of the action of any figure, the effect is one of surprise rather than of torture. But the dramatic interest of the whole group lies in the

character and action of the figures rather than in their sufferings; some turn as if with defiance against their irresistible enemy;



FIG. 104.—Niobid Chiamonti (Rome, Vatican).

others seek to protect their weaker companions from the inevitable blow. For instance, the young man (Fig. 105) who raises his chlamys as a shield on his arm was grouped in the



FIG. 105.—Son of Niobe (Florence, Uffizi).

original with a fallen sister whom he supported against his knee; Niobe herself clasps her youngest daughter against her, and seems to strive to hide the child from the destruction around, while she holds up her mantle as a protection; others again, in the rush of their vain endeavour to escape, offer in their floating, wind-swept draperies a splendid contrast to the quieter and more self-contained groups. And, for mere technical effect, nothing can surpass the way in which the expression of the young man (Fig. 105) is enhanced by the shadow thrown by his drapery over the upper part of his face. It is, however, above all in the contrast of figure with figure and of group with group that the dramatic power of the artist has full scope; we have the relation of protector and protected repeated three or four times with variations. The tender but despairing care of Niobe for her youngest daughter, whose slender girlish form clings passionately to the noble matronly figure that towers above her, contrasts with the impetuous youth who, as he supports his dying sister, looks up in defiance in the direction from which the fatal arrow has come; and we see another variation in the youngest boy, who looks on with curiosity, almost with indifference, as if unable to realise the terror of the scene, which is testified by the uncouth gesture of the old barbarian slave or "paedagogue" who stands over him. As to details of execution, it is impossible to speak with so much certainty: the immense superiority of the Chiaramonti Niobid over the corresponding figure at Florence warns us against drawing many inferences from the other figures of the inferior set; and a head of Niobe, at Brocklesby Park,¹ is a more refined copy than the Florentine one, though still probably far short of the power of the original. With such help we can to some extent realise the mastery with which the artist embodied his dramatic conception—above all in the expression of Niobe herself; in the upward gaze of her eyes and her contracted brow we can see the struggle between pride and defiance of so severe a judgment and that inconsolable grief for which her name was to become proverbial; yet withal a moderation and dignity that never forgets the queen in the suffering mother, just as, in a wider sense, the nobility and grace of sculpture are never lost in too realistic an attempt to express a scene of pain and death. Whether the group was made by a contemporary of Scopas and Praxiteles, or by a

¹ See Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 227.

successor of the Hellenistic age, its designer was certainly inspired by the artistic character and traditions of the fourth century, rather than by the cruder if more dramatic tendencies of a later period.

A fitting conclusion to the sculpture of the fourth century is offered by the magnificent set of sculptured marble sarcophagi found at Sidon, and now preserved in the Constantinople Museum.¹ These are in a marvellous state of preservation, and not only the surface of the marble, but even the colours that tinted it are still to a great degree intact. They reflect the character of several generations of Greek sculptors, and their existence in a place where the influence of Greek art was so little to be expected is not easy to explain. It would seem that there must have been a tradition with a local dynasty of Phœnician princes to employ Greek sculptors for the decoration of their tombs; for the work is all unmistakably the work of Greeks, not of local sculptors who had fallen under Hellenic influence.

The earliest of these sarcophagi reflects the art of Ionia, and has much in common with the Lycian tombs of the same age. It is known as the tomb of the Satrap, from a figure, evidently representing the deceased, which appears in various scenes of hunting and feasting. It does not belong to the fourth century, but is only mentioned here to show the various periods that are represented; a second, known as the Lycian sarcophagus, from its ogival top, closely resembles the tombs of Lycia, made under Attic influence towards the close of the fifth century; it is ornamented with sculpture which, both in subjects and style, recalls that which we have noticed on the Attic buildings of the latter part of the fifth century. It has been suggested that this sarcophagus may have been bought ready made in Lycia;² but, in spite of the characteristic Lycian shape, the style of the carving seems to show that it was made by an Attic sculptor, whether he worked in Lycia or Sidon. The same Attic character is unmistakable in the sarcophagus commonly named after the mourners (*les pleureuses*) who decorate its sides and top. This is made as a

¹ See the magnificent publication of these sarcophagi by Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach; the photographic plates given in it show better than any description the beauty of the sculpture and its preservation.

² *E.g.* by M. Joubin, *Catalogue*, p. 36.

complete miniature model of an Ionic temple, around which, in each intercolumniation, stand or sit the eighteen beautiful female figures from which the sarcophagus is named. They are in a variety of graceful attitudes, each suggestive of melancholy or grief, but with a subdued and chastened expression which reminds us of the Attic tombstones of the fourth century. It is, indeed, upon the Attic tombstones that these figures find their nearest analogies, though few of those monuments can rival this sarcophagus in execution; and the grace and variety with which the mourners are posed recall the Mantinean reliefs from the pedestal of the group by Praxiteles,¹ and also the terra-cottas of Tanagra, with their wealth and variety of motive and their graceful diversity of attitude and of drapery. This sarcophagus finds its natural place among those products of minor art which reflect the style of the greater artists of the period, without directly borrowing their designs or copying their works; but among such minor monuments it is distinguished both for its unique design and for the care of its execution.

The most beautiful and the best preserved of all the Sidon sarcophagi is called that of Alexander, not because there is any probability that the body of the Macedonian conqueror ever rested within it, but because its sides represent scenes of battle or of hunting in which he and his companions can be recognised (Fig. 106). It is impossible not to be reminded by these subjects of the groups made by Lysippus and his scholars. But although his influence in this respect may be admitted, many features of style and technique, as well as the Pentelic marble² of which the sarcophagus is made, suggest an Attic connection; and there are other affinities also which we must notice. The composition of the various groups contrasts in many ways with that of the friezes of the Mausoleum—the monument which at once suggests itself for comparison. On the Sidon Sarcophagus the grouping is much more crowded: the figures do not stand out singly against the background, but the *melée* of battle seems at first glance to be rendered in all its confusion. And the subject here is no imaginary combat of Greeks and Amazons, but a battle in which the actual and

¹ See p. 367.

² See the Official Catalogue, in which the *Pleureuses* are described only as *marbre blanc*, the "Lycian" and "Satrap" as of Parian marble. According to Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, the *Satrap* and *Pleureuses* are in Pentelic marble.



FIG. 106.—N. side of Alexander Sarcophagus (Constantinople.) After Handy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, Pl. xxix.

individual characters of the opposing parties are evidently historical: we seem to recognise the features of more than one Macedonian warrior besides Alexander himself; and their peculiar helmets and arms are also rendered with accuracy, as well as the Oriental swathings and drapery of their Persian opponents. Yet we have not a realistic battle scene; every pair or group of combatants is designed with all the distinction and artistic concentration of a heroic combat, as well as with a wonderful fertility of invention and vigour of execution. Thus the crowded groups of combatants, on a closer study, separate themselves in the apparent confusion which strikes us at first sight; and the care and delicacy with which every detail is finished lead us on to a better appreciation of the whole. It is above all in the expression of the faces of the combatants that these scenes of battle and of the chase distinguish themselves from all others. The effect is increased by the preservation of colour on eyes and hair, which gives a wonderfully lifelike appearance. Indeed, no one who has not seen this sarcophagus can realise the effect produced by a correct and artistic application of colour to sculpture. This is the *circumlitio* which Nicias applied to the statues of Praxiteles, and which, as Praxiteles himself declared, contributed in the highest degree to their excellence. The colour thus applied does not obscure the texture of the marble nor the delicacy of the modelling; on the contrary, it makes both more visible, by giving a variety to the monotonous whiteness of the surface; it relieves the fatigue otherwise caused by the study of colourless form, and assists the eye to observe many subtleties of modelling which it might otherwise be unable to appreciate. But it only has its full effect when, as here, it is joined to a delicacy of finish which satisfies the most minute criticism. The tense brows and deep-set eyes of the combatants have, in their modelling alone, an intensity of expression which can only be paralleled by the Tegean heads of Scopas and the charioteer of the Mausoleum; and the colour which gives life to this expression helps us to realise the effect which those other heads must have had when they were perfect. The addition of colour to the drapery, especially to the floating garments which fill vacant spaces of the background with their folds, also adds greatly to its decorative effect, and again gives us an opportunity for restoring in our minds the original appearance of many Attic reliefs in which the drapery is used in a similar

manner. This sarcophagus is in itself one of the most beautiful as it is certainly the most perfect in preservation of all the monuments of Greek art that have survived to our time; but it is not valuable for itself alone. Many of the most precious relics of antiquity are mutilated or defaced, and none of them preserve their appearance as they left the hand of the artist, with a finish of surface and an addition of colour which he regarded as essential to their completeness; and therefore a work like this sarcophagus, though its colour is said to have faded since its discovery, offers us a standard whereby we may appreciate others that have been less fortunate in their history. Even the published reproductions are enough to show how much may thus be gained; yet more is learnt from the sight of the originals in the museum at Constantinople, which they have at once raised to a very high rank among the collections of Greek antiquities.

The discovery of such a wonderful series of the finest examples of Greek sculpture at Sidon is one of those surprises which attend excavation and upset all calculations of probability. The spread of Hellenic culture through the East which followed the conquests of Alexander here finds a remarkable anticipation, even if it be only in the tastes of a single princely house. In earlier times this Hellenic culture seems to be associated with Ionian and Lycian commerce, though it soon falls under the predominating influence of Attic art, an influence probably confirmed in the fourth century by the Attic friendships and connections of Evagoras, the neighbouring prince of Cyprus. Later in the same century the employment of Scopas and his colleagues, mostly of Attic origin, on the Mausoleum and other works in Asia Minor, probably attracted the attention of the Sidonian princes; and in the wonderful and passionate life of the Alexander sarcophagus we may recognise the hand of a sculptor who had been reared in Attic traditions, but who had also worked as an associate of Scopas.

§ 56. *Summary.*—We have already noticed the greater prominence of the individual as in various ways characteristic of the change from the fifth century to the fourth; but this did not prevent the continuity of the different schools. The great school of athletic sculpture, which, in the fifth century, had found its main centre at Argos, was transferred in the fourth century to Sicily. We do not know the reason, but even

some families of artists seem to have migrated from the one city to the other. Lysippus, the last great master of this school, is in some ways the most characteristic figure of the close of the fourth century. He continued but transformed the Sicyonian tradition; and not only athletic statues, but images of the gods—some of them colossal—and portraits of men, especially of Alexander and his companions, are among his works, and anticipate the tendencies of the succeeding age. But with all his skill in the portrayal of character and even of individual mood and passion, Lysippus had probably learnt much from his contemporaries and predecessors of other schools, as well as from his study of nature, and from the tradition of his own immediate associates. And it was through his influence and his technical predominance that most of the artistic tendencies of the fourth century came to be handed on to the Hellenistic period.

The Attic school also had continued to flourish and to produce many sculptors who enriched its tradition by their originality and skill. Praxiteles, above all, had carried sculpture in marble to the highest pitch of technical perfection, though he also worked in bronze. His statues of the gods had given them an individual, almost human, character, which brought them nearer to the lives and hearts of men, even if his art lost something of that ideal and divine character which belonged to the great statues of the fifth century. He also had an influence on posterity proportionate to the beauty and grace of his conceptions and the skill of their execution. If those who imitated him lost the better side of his art in a softer and almost effeminate elegance and voluptuousness, we must not regard these characteristics as belonging to his own works. They are certainly not to be seen in the only examples of it by which he ought to be judged.

But perhaps Scopas was the greatest of the masters of the fourth century, and his influence, if less direct and visible in outward forms than that of Lysippus or of Praxiteles, was deeper and more far-reaching. It was Scopas, above all, who made the marble of his statues not only full of life and individual character, but instinct with passion and emotion. We have a difficulty in assigning him to any special school, either in his antecedents or his successors; but he seems in his earlier years to have assimilated all that was best suited to his art

alike in the Peloponnese and in Athens; and those who worked with him in his maturity seem to have felt his unrivalled power of expression, and to have striven to imitate it themselves in accordance with the traditions and technique in which they had been trained. We see this imitation now in an Attic tombstone, now in a Lysippean athlete or warrior, now in a relief made by a Greek sculptor for an Oriental prince. And still more we shall see it in the next epoch, when the passionate dramatic groups made by the Schools of Asia Minor perhaps exceed the bounds of sculpture. But the excess of expression from which some of these works are not altogether free is no more to be laid to the charge of Scopas than the defects which we may notice in the followers of Praxiteles should prejudice us against their master.

Besides these three great names, which stand out above all others in the fourth century, we have noticed many other artists; some of them grouped about the chief sculptors of the age, others of independent style or following the traditions of an earlier period.

Towards the close of the period we find in artistic as in political conditions the anticipation of those changes which will form the theme of our next chapter. We already see many of the chief sculptors working for foreign princes in Asia Minor, and spreading the influence of Hellenism where the conquests of Alexander were soon to make it universal; and even Lysippus owes much of his fame to his association with the great Macedonian whose personality already begins to dominate the art of Greece.

CHAPTER V

THE HELLENISTIC AGE—320-100 B.C.

§ 57. *The Influence of Alexander.*—We have already seen how in the early years of the fifth century the Persian wars and their unexpected result changed the relations of Greece with the East, and how the revulsion of feeling that they caused found its expression in the sculpture of the age perhaps even more than in any other form. The long struggle between East and West continued in a desultory manner through the succeeding periods, varied now and then by an exciting incident like the retreat of Xenophon's ten thousand, who first taught the Greeks that they could hold their own against Persians even in the heart of their enemy's country. It was reserved for the Macedonian kings, Philip and his son Alexander, to profit by the lesson, and to plan a more ambitious scheme of conquest than had ever yet been thought of in Europe. They were first employed on those preliminary efforts to unite Greece under their own leadership which, seen only from the side of the independent Greek states, or with the eyes of an Athenian patriot like Demosthenes, seemed fatal to liberty. Even a far-seeing politician like Isocrates, the "old man eloquent" who was "killed with report" of the victory of Chaeronea, could not foresee the consequences of that battle, so as to find consolation for the defeat of his own city in the splendid realisation of his dream of a united Greece conquering its old enemy Persia.¹ But this practical realisation was not to come from the free states of Greece, worn out with internecine strife, and incapable of any lasting combination. It was reserved for the monarchs of the semi-barbarian kingdom of Macedon to become

¹ See his *Panegyric*.

the champions of Hellenism ; but we must not forget that the reigning family claimed the highest Hellenic lineage in descent from Heracles himself, and that this claim had been officially recognised by admission to the Olympian games, long before Philip and Alexander had established their position in Greece so strongly that such a right could not be refused. It was really the civilisation and culture of Greece that subdued Persia with the armies of Alexander, and Alexander himself would have been the first to recognise the fact ; while the colonies which he founded throughout the East became the new centres of Hellenism.

The spread of Hellenism in the East, and especially of Hellenic influence in art, was, as we have seen, already anticipated to some degree in the fourth century. The most perfect monuments of Greek sculpture have been found not only on the western coasts of Asia Minor, where the Greek colonists had long been established, but in the barbarian kingdoms of Caria and Lycia, and even as far east as Sidon. Artists like Scopas and Praxiteles had done some of their finest work in regions beyond the pale of Hellenic nationality. All these things prepared the way for the great change to be effected by Alexander's campaigns ; and when his new empire and the kingdoms of his successors threw open the East to the immigration of Greek civilisation and literature and art, they met with a ready welcome in regions already beginning to be permeated by their influence.

It is little wonder that the man whose career is bound up with one of the greatest events in the history of civilisation should have dominated with his personality the sculpture of the period to a degree probably unparalleled in the history of art. Literature has not done Alexander justice ; those who approach him from that side probably think more of the enemy of Demosthenes than of the pupil of Aristotle ; and he has been unfortunate in those to whom it has fallen to chronicle his exploits. But Lysippus rendered his character in portraiture with an insight and skill that did much to make up for this misfortune ; and, partly owing to the influence of the sculptor, partly to the commanding position of the subject, the individual features of Alexander have had a permanent effect on the sculptural type of Hellenistic art. The divine honours paid to him by his successors contributed also to this result. They not

only set up numerous statues to him, but even placed his head upon their coins, an honour hitherto reserved for the gods; and when they claimed similar privileges for themselves it was in virtue of their inheritance of his majesty. For this reason we



FIG. 107.—Head of Alexander (British Museum).

possess many works of the Hellenistic period—some of them idealised portraits, some of them representing other subjects—as to which it has been disputed whether they are portraits of Alexander or not: for instance, the “Inopus” in the Louvre, and the so-called “Dying Alexander.” The fact is that sculptors had studied so closely the peculiar character of his face—his heavy

brow and deep-set eye, and the fiery glance of a "genius akin to madness"—that it had influenced their prevalent type of face, and that his personality has thus overshadowed many works to a degree of which the sculptor himself was not conscious.

§ 58. *Chief Centres of Sculpture in the Hellenistic Age.*—So far we have been mainly concerned with the schools of sculpture which had their centres in various cities of Greece itself; and if we have traced outlying branches of these schools, or assigned to their influence works that were made at a distance, we have still had to recur to Greece for all continuity of tradition. With the conquests of Alexander, and the consequent Hellenisation of the East, all this is changed. Athens, indeed, continues to produce sculptors of minor importance, and the school of Sicyon does not at once become extinct. But all the life and originality of Greek art seems to have followed Alexander to the East, whither, even before his empire was founded, many of the greatest sculptors had already turned for the worthiest employment of their activity. We should naturally expect to find schools of sculpture founded in the colonies which Alexander planted to spread Hellenic arts and commerce throughout the East. This expectation is only partially fulfilled. Alexandria, indeed, became the chief centre of literary studies, and it also had artistic tendencies of its own, especially in the direction of decorative art.¹ Its coins attest the existence of a whole gallery of statues and groups which must have been the work of Greek sculptors. But we do not hear of any great or original sculptors arising in Alexandria, nor do we possess any great monument of Alexandrian art. With Pergamum,² the literary rival of Alexandria, the case is different. This city was not indeed founded by Alexander, but it was a mere provincial town, of ancient origin though of no great importance, before his period. It owes its prominence in the Hellenistic world to its being the seat of the dynasty established there in the time of his successors. We shall see how the kings of Pergamum were the most munificent patrons of art as well as of literature, and gathered round them a school of sculpture which lasted for several generations, and produced works which are among the

¹ See Schreiber, *die Alexandrinische Toreutik*.

² Πέργαμον is the usual form in Greek, Pergamum in Latin and also in the Revised Version; the Old Authorised Version has Pergamos, which has little authority beyond Ptolemy.

most impressive that have survived from antiquity. Other ancient cities of Asia Minor also had their schools of sculpture in the Hellenistic age, especially Tralles and Ephesus. Rhodes, which had occupied so prominent a position in the early age of Greek art, again becomes conspicuous during its decline for a series of sculptors lasting over several generations, and culminating in the authors of the Laocoön. Beside all these flourishing schools of sculpture in the East, the art of Greece in its original home sinks into comparative insignificance, and it does not again attract our attention until the demand of Roman patrons for Greek sculpture has created a supply of copies and of imitative works for which we cannot but be grateful. But, so far as the history of art is concerned, we shall henceforth be concerned almost exclusively with those vigorous offshoots of Greek sculpture which sprang up in a new soil after Greece itself had become effete.

§ 59. *The Pastoral Tendency—Hellenistic Reliefs.*—The literary tendencies of the Hellenistic age, especially in their chief centre at Alexandria, are those which naturally belong to the period of criticism, learning, and artificiality that marks the decline of original and creative energy. The rise of pastoral poetry among such surroundings is a phenomenon which seems at first sight surprising, but its explanation is not far to seek. The people, cooped up in towns amidst the conventions and restraints of a highly-refined and artificial civilisation, felt a natural reaction towards simplicity, and a craving for the country life and manners from which they were cut off. Most of all was this the case in Alexandria, where the dreary level of the delta offered the only possible change from the crowded streets and squares of the city. The poems of Theocritus and his associates show us how the trees and mountains and breezes of Sicily—the open-air life of the shepherd and the fisherman, and even mythological scenes in a similar pastoral setting—were brought to refresh the jaded intellect of the townsmen of Alexandria and of the courtiers of the Ptolemies. The same desires found expression in a series of reliefs which also, with a strange inconsistency, are the chief examples of a new and luxurious device for the decoration of buildings. These “pictures in relief,”¹ as they have been aptly named, were designed as panels to be

¹ See Schreiber's publication, *Die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, and also his *Die Brunnenreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani*.



FIG. 108.—Hellenistic relief; Dionysus visiting a dramatic poet (British Museum).

Note.—On the couch was a female figure, now chiselled away, and the last of the attendants of Dionysus supported a drunken Maenad, whose upper part is also cut away.

let into the walls, a practice now for the first time become common, though isolated examples occur earlier—for example, on the Mausoleum. They are distinguished not only by their choice of subject, but by a peculiar pictorial treatment of the design, especially in the background. There is usually a group of figures in the foreground, and in these figures the analogy in subject to pastoral poetry is striking. Sometimes the scene is mythological, but usually representing such mythical personages as we read of in Alexandrian poems—satyrs and nymphs, the Cyclops Polyphemus, Adonis, or Paris and Oenone. Often the scene is from actual country life—a herdsman minding his cattle or milking, a peasant on his way to market, or drawing a thorn from a companion's foot, or even a group of animals, a sheep and lamb, or a lioness and cub. Sometimes, too, we find scenes from comedy, or a poet in meditation over his works. The background, which is the most characteristic part of these reliefs, varies so as to be appropriate to the subject. Sometimes it is purely architectural, sometimes it represents nothing but rocks and trees, treated with a strange combination of naturalism and conventionality. More often it consists of a mixture of the two—a country scene, with peasants' huts and rustic shrines scattered over the landscape, or a group of buildings with trees and bushes lending variety to their stiffer outlines (Fig. 108). And throughout there is a beauty and refinement of detail which reminds us of the minute finish given by Theocritus to his pictures of rustic life. The flowers on the rocks, the leaves of the trees, are often carved not only with the utmost care, but with botanical accuracy. The country is seldom left untenanted by man or by his imaginings: small shrines or altars, thyrsi, and masks and other symbols, are scattered freely over the scene.

Similar subjects, treated in a similar style, are also found on other works of the minor arts, such as bronze or silver vessels and even gems; they are interesting not only from the way in which they illustrate the literary tendencies of the Hellenistic age, and the social conditions which they reflect, but also because they show us an undoubted example of the influence of painting on sculpture. The treatment of landscape is very similar to that which we see in Greek pictures that have been preserved, and even if it were not so, the style of the reliefs would suffice

to show the influence under which they were designed. It is valuable to have a set of reliefs like these, in which the imitation of painting is undisputed; for they offer us a standard whereby we can judge of the influence of painting which, according to some theories, contributed so greatly to the general development of Greek sculpture. They also help us to appreciate the contribution made by Alexandria to the art of the Hellenistic age,¹ and to assign to the city in this direction, as well as in literature and social development, a position worthy of the founder whose name it bears.

§ 60. *Boethus, and children in sculpture.*—We have noticed in the last section one of the artistic forms in which the reaction of the Hellenistic age against a too elaborate civilisation found expression; we must now turn to another product of the same artificial simplicity. It is commonly stated, and is in the main true, that Greek sculptors of the fourth century made no attempt to render children with any truth to nature, and that when, as in the *Hermes of Praxiteles*, a child is found as part of a group, it is treated merely as an accessory. The proportions of childhood are ignored; the body is simply like that of a full grown man on a smaller scale, and the face shows no study of childish forms. There are indeed some exceptions;² but even these, though they show more of an attempt to catch the character and expression of childhood, certainly do not imply a recognition of the rounded and chubby figure and undeveloped proportions that properly belong to a young child. Early in the Hellenistic age there appears to have been a change in this respect; and from that time on the chubby, babyish cupids which are familiar to us from late Greek and Roman art are not only rendered with truth to nature, but are often chosen with especial predilection as a subject for sculpture. It seems as if the age of innocence in children, like the imagined innocence of rustic life, had a peculiar fascination for those who felt themselves oppressed by their too complicated surroundings.

The leader of this movement appears to have been Boethus, an artist of Carthage,³ which at this time, as we know from its

¹ Here I accept the conclusions of Prof. Schreiber, whose minute study and splendid publication of these reliefs give his opinion the highest authority.

² *E.g.* The fourth century head of a boy from Paphos, *J. H. S.* 1888, pl. x., and that of Cephisodotus on a stela from Lerna, *ibid.* 1890, p. 100.

³ K. O. Müller suggested Chalcedon, in Bithynia, instead of Charcedon (= Carthage), a conjecture confirmed by an inscription recording two sons of

coins, had felt the all-pervading influence of Hellenic art, and probably included Greek artists among its inhabitants. Three statues of children by Boethus are recorded, one of the infant Asclepius, another of a seated boy, gilt, and probably of bronze, which was set up at Olympia.¹ The third is of more interest to us, because copies of it have been recognised in a group of which we possess several examples; it represents a young boy struggling with a goose almost as big as himself (Fig. 109). He plants his feet widely apart, and wrestles manfully with the great bird, which he grasps tightly round the neck with both his arms. To understand the subject we must remember that the goose was a regular inmate of a Greek house, the model and companion of a good housewife, and the playmate of the children; it occupied, in fact, much the same position as is taken, in a modern household, by the domestic cat. Here there is a quarrel between the baby and his playmate; the evident reality of the struggle to the child and his mock-heroic attitude contrast with his chubby figure to produce a fascinating and humorous piece of *genre*. The subject evidently had a great vogue, for we find it repeated again and again with endless variations; one of the most interesting is a little silver statuette from Alexandria in the British Museum, where the boy is seated and grasps a smaller goose round the body while it bites at his ear.² This statue is not later than about 240 B.C., and so we have good reason to believe that the type of which it is a variation, and which we must assign to Boethus, belongs to the beginning of the Hellenistic age. We are expressly told that Boethus excelled in silver; and so we have a further confirmation of his connection with the Alexandrian school, which devoted itself especially to decorative and minute work in the precious metals.³

§ 61. *Chares, and the Colossus of Rhodes*.—We must now return to the pupils of Lysippus, through whom his influence was transmitted to later times. The most famous of them is Chares of Lindus in Rhodes, who made the famous bronze Colossus which, from its gigantic size, was counted one of the seven wonders of

Boethus at the neighbouring town of Nicomedia. But the Alexandrian affinities of Boethus seem to confirm his African origin.

¹ There is no evidence for associating this boy, as has been done, with the "Spinario" of the Capitol, or a Hellenistic version of the same subject now in the British Museum.

² See *J. H. S.* 1885, p. 1, pl. A.

³ Schreiber, *Alexandrinische Toreutik*.



FIG. 109.—Boy and goose, after Boethius (Louvre).

the world. This statue was 105 feet high ; it was set up out of the spoils left behind him by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he raised the siege of Rhodes in 303 B.C., and is said to have taken twelve years to make.¹ It was overthrown by an earthquake after it had only stood for about 60 years, and could not be re-erected ; but it remained, in this damaged state, a marvel to travellers ; its remains are said not to have disappeared entirely until comparatively modern times. We have a record as to the process by which it was made in a treatise on *The Seven Wonders*, under the name of Philo of Byzantium, a writer on mechanics, who lived, probably, in the second century B.C., and had studied both at Alexandria and in Rhodes ; but unfortunately the authenticity of the work is doubtful. It states that the Colossus was cast in sections as it stood, from the feet upward ; and that a mound of earth was piled up around it as it rose, so that it was always possible for the founding to be done in a subterranean mould. The story appears probable on the face of it, and not such as a rhetorical writer like the author of this treatise would probably invent ; so we may infer that he was following a trustworthy tradition. We hear also that when the statue had fallen, it was possible to see through the cracks in it the large blocks of stone which Chares had placed inside it so as to give it stability.

In making such a work as this, Chares was following closely in the footsteps of his master, Lysippus, whose colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum was hardly less famous ; and it was distinguished, as we learn from Lucian, no less for the artistic skill of its style than for its colossal size. We have no information as to the pose of the work ; it represented the sun-god Helios, the patron of Rhodes, whose head, surrounded with a crown of rays, appears upon Rhodian coins ; to this type we must suppose Chares to have conformed. It is really a variation on the Greek conception of Apollo, but has a rounder face and more marked features, in accordance with the usual notion of the appearance of the sun itself.

Lucian, in his humorous description of the assembly of the gods, makes Helios claim a front seat because, from his colossal

¹ The absurd descriptions and representations in mediæval treatises on *The Seven Wonders*, which make the Colossus stand bestriding the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes, and holding up a lantern in one hand to serve as a lighthouse, are of course merely imaginary fabrications.

stature, he had cost as much as sixteen¹ golden statues, and moreover was a work of high artistic merit and remarkable for accuracy of finish, considering his great size. This is an estimate which will hardly appeal to us more than to those addressed by the god on this occasion; but at the same time we must recognise that, in order to make a statue such as this Colossus, Chares must have possessed not only very high technical and mechanical skill, but also an artistic sense of a very high order; a colossal statue like this would require a treatment in every detail appropriate to the size of the work; no adequate effect would be produced by a mere enlargement of the forms that would look well in an ordinary statue. The kind of style that is necessary for a colossal statue may be seen from the two statues of the Dioscuri of Monte Cavallo at Rome, which are themselves also examples of Lysippean art.² Here perhaps more than anywhere else we appreciate the dictum of Lysippus, in which he asserted that his aim was not to reproduce the exact forms of life, but their effect as seen by the spectator. The deeply and clearly cut features look coarse and unsightly when examined close at hand, but produce an admirable impression when seen from a distance.

Colossal works, of more moderate size, were produced by Greek sculpture at every period of its existence. But in the excessive size of this Rhodian figure we may recognise a desire for mere bigness, far surpassing in size all previous statues, since to surpass them in beauty of conception or execution was hopeless. Here we see the beginning of the decline, and there is little doubt that the Colossus of Rhodes, in spite of the artistic skill which it displayed, was rather a wonder to the vulgar from the difficulty of its production, than a delight to those who were capable of appreciating good work, whether on a small or on a large scale.

¹ The cost of the Colossus, as given by Pliny, is ccc talents; this, being too small a number, has been emended to mccc. But more probably we should read pccc; then we have exactly sixteen times fifty, which is the round number at which the gold of the Athena Parthenos is estimated by Diod. Sic. Of course this fifty, or forty according to the more exact statement of Thucydides, refers to *weight* of gold, not to its *value* (in silver). But this is a point which either Lucian or the Colossus might ignore in a forensic claim. The number sixteen implies that Lucian had some definite figures in his mind.

² I follow the rejection of the modern inscriptions *opus Fidiæ* and *opus Praxitelis* by Loewy and others, in spite of Prof. Furtwängler's attempt to defend them as based on a correct tradition.

§ 62. *Eutychides and the Impersonation of Cities*.—Impersonation is not foreign to Greek art at any stage of its development, and even the impersonation of states and cities is not uncommon in earlier times. Such impersonations usually occur on vases or on reliefs, especially on the headings of decrees; but on such documents the contracting states are usually either represented by their patron deity, or figured under a form which is derived from his. In the fourth century we have seen that with the more individual realisation of the various divinities there comes also a tendency to personify abstract ideas, and to refine on mythological distinctions of character. We find figures like the Peace nursing Wealth of Cephisodotus, and the Eros, Pothos, and Himeros of Scopas. With the Hellenistic age another kind of impersonation, more local and limited in its character, which was before not unknown on vases and reliefs, begins to find its way into sculpture also; and in its most characteristic example it is associated with a curious new cultus, that of the Fortune (Tyche) of the city, who comes to be a real tutelary deity.¹ The best-known example of the artistic embodiment of such a conception is the figure of Antioch—or rather, to speak more correctly, of the Fortune of Antioch—which was made for the citizens of the town (founded in 300 B.C.) by the sculptor Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus (Fig. 110). She is represented as seated upon a rock, on which her left hand rests; the whole right side of her body (as Brunn has well expressed it) is turned towards her left; the right knee is thrown over the left, and the right elbow rests upon it, and the face also is turned in the same direction. Her figure is enveloped in the folds of a rich mantle, which is drawn over her head, and covers her left arm down to the wrist. On her head is a mural crown. Beneath her feet a swimming figure rises from the waves to represent the river Orontes. This is a form of impersonation which reminds us in many ways of the complicated allegories of the period. It is really a representation of the geographical position of the city, in anthropomorphic symbolism; and it implies that the city was set upon the slopes of a hill, bending forward upon itself in the turn of a valley, while the river flowed at its feet. But we must not allow the somewhat frigid and artificial nature of this symbolism to blind us to the wonderful grace and freedom of

¹ On this whole subject, see P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, 1888, p. 47.



FIG. 110.—Antioch, after Eutychides (Rome, Vatican).

invention with which it has been expressed. In pose and varied flow of drapery the statue reminds us of the most beautiful of Greek terra-cottas—and here we see alike its excellence and its defect. The terra-cottas, representing merely fanciful figures from daily life—girls at play or in meditation, treated with the most perfect simplicity and grace—cannot be surpassed for their lightness and versatility of imagination, and their adaptation of subject to material. But when one of these same figures is translated into a statue, and set up as an object of worship, and as the embodiment of one of the most vivid religious conceptions of the period, we cannot help feeling a certain incongruity. The whole position and character of the figure, though so full of grace as to make it one of the most charming to the eye of all the Greek statues that have survived, have a certain lack of dignity which disqualifies it for the exalted role it is called upon to play. The mural crown upon her head¹ does not suffice to make us recognise a present deity in this woman, whose beauty of pose and figure at once excites our admiration.

This was not the only attempt in the direction of impersonation by Eutychides. He also made a statue of the river-god Eurotas, which is attested by an epigram to have shown a modelling flowing as water in its texture, so that the bronze of which it was made seemed even more liquid than the element it simulated. We may well imagine how the sculptor of the Antioch may have dealt with such a subject. The flowing, almost liquid, surface of the Cephissus of the Parthenon pediment may also give us some notion of how far a sculptor, entirely free from the artistic restraint that marked the school of Phidias, may have gone in a similar attempt. And it is no surprise, when we consider the artistic character of Eutychides, to learn that he was also a painter. The man who could invent such a figure as the Antioch certainly had as much of the painter as of the sculptor in him; for the conception of the city is in many ways a pictorial one.

Though we may feel the inadequacy of such an artificial creation as an object of worship, it is asserted that this very figure of Antioch had much reverence from those who lived in the region; and the numerous imitations to which it gave rise sufficiently testify its artistic popularity. Most of these

¹ The head is a restoration, but the crown is attested by coins.

lack the grace and refinement which distinguish the work of Eutychides. A good example is offered by the Puteoline basis,¹ of Roman date, where the cities of Asia Minor stand around a statue of Tiberius. The extent to which such geographical impersonation could go is shown by Ephesus, who stands, in the garb of an Amazon, with one foot upon a mask with flowing beard and hair that typifies the river Cayster; while over her right shoulder appears the Ephesian Artemis on a column, to indicate that the temple stood behind the town, visible over its right shoulder, so to speak, as seen from the sea. Of course Eutychides is not responsible for such versions of the symbolism he had originated; but they show us its ultimate result.

§ 63. *Portraiture*.—It was the custom in Greece, from the earliest times, to set up statues as memorials of individual men, both in temples and on tombs; but although such statues were in a sense intended to represent those whom they commemorated, they were not what we should call portraits. As we have seen, both in the statues of athletic victors and in the tombstones set up over the dead, there was no attempt in earlier times to imitate individual form or features: it was enough if the statue conformed generally to the age and sex, office or character of the subject. And the nature of the subjects chosen for such commemoration was different from what we find in the later days of Greece, and in modern times. The statues were either religious dedications, set up in honour of a god as a symbol of personal devotion on the part of the dedicator; or, if they were monuments over a tomb, they were set up to recall the deceased to his friends, and their erection was a matter of private interest. We find no examples in early times of a statue set up to honour a man who had conferred great benefits on his country in peace or war, or whose fame was so great that his fellow-citizens desired to preserve his image in a public place. Athens, so far as we know, had no statue of Solon or of Miltiades,² of Cleisthenes or Themistocles or Aristides, set up during their lifetime, or while their

¹ Baumeister, p. 1297, fig. 1441.

² A statue of Miltiades occurred in a subordinate figure, in a group set up at Delphi to commemorate Marathon; but this is no real exception. Of course statues of all these great men existed in Athens in later times, but they were probably not erected before the fourth century.

memory was still fresh among their friends and admirers. The first recorded example of a statue set up with a motive similar to that which now prompts us to erect statues to our public men, is the portrait of Pericles by Cresilas.¹ We have already noticed the ideal and typical, rather than individual character of this work; it was also a dedication, offering to Athena on the Acropolis an image of the man who had done so much to enrich and beautify her chosen city. Still the motive of the dedicator (who appears to have been a private citizen) was doubtless to preserve a record of Pericles himself among the buildings which he had erected; and the custom of dedication was one which continued to be kept up even until times when it had become a mere form, and the honour was intended altogether for the man and not for the god. It was to be expected that, with the tendency of art towards individualism which we noticed as characteristic of the fourth century, portraiture would at once take a more prominent place; and accordingly we find that many of the chief artists of the fourth century did make portraits, either of contemporaries or of famous characters of old. In this last case it is clear that the portraits were inventions of the imagination rather than records of individual physiognomy or character. We do, however, hear of one sculptor of the fourth century—Demetrius of Alopecce²—whose portraits were so realistic in character that Lucian calls him the “maker of men” rather than the “maker of statues.”³ He made a famous statuette of Lysimache, an aged priestess of Athena; and Lucian has given us a description of his portrait of the Corinthian General Pellichus—“high-bellied, bald, his clothes half-off him, some of the hairs of his beard caught by the wind, his veins prominent.” Such a work of realism—we might almost say of caricature—is exceptional, not only in the fourth century, but at any period of Greek sculpture;⁴ and indeed, in works like this, it is the skill and humour of the artist rather than the character of the person represented that are the essential thing.

With the beginning of the Hellenistic age we find a new and a stronger impulse towards portraiture. In the first place, the

¹ The portrait of Pericles was a herm, not a statue, but the purpose remains the same.

² He is dated by inscription to the earlier part of the fourth century (Loewy, 62, 63).

³ ἀνθρωπόποιος instead of ἀνδριανόποιος.

⁴ Caricatures are of course common enough in terra-cottas.

demand for it was constantly increasing. It became the commonest form of compliment or of flattery to set up statues in honour of any individual. We hear, for example, that the incredible number of 360 honorary statues were set up within a year to Demetrius Phalereus in Athens; and during this period it became customary to decorate theatres, libraries, and other public buildings of literary connection with statues of poets and other authors. The great majority of the portraits which we possess owe their origin to this custom, and to the imitation of it in Rome. Such statues were sometimes contemporary portraits; more often they were imaginary, more or less traditional representations of men who had died long before without leaving any record of their features behind them. Portraits now so familiar to us as that of Homer were thus invented, while even the features of more recent writers underwent a partly idealising, partly conventionalising process from the frequency with which they were repeated.

But among all the various branches of portrait sculpture, none exercised so great an influence on the history of art in the early Hellenistic age as that which was inaugurated by Lysippus with his portraits of Alexander. We have already seen something of this influence. Alexander's successors began by according divine honours to him, but soon they came to arrogate similar honours to themselves. Nor was the worship or flattery—whichever we please to call it—paid to them only by the people of Asia Minor; even in Athens itself we find a hymn composed in honour of Demetrius Poliorcetes as a present deity, while other gods were far away or cared not for their people. The custom of masquerading or posing as a god, to which some of the Greek kings of the East were led by such a reception of their claims, naturally found expression in sculpture also; and hence we find examples in which a king is represented under the character and with the attributes of some deity, or the statue of the god is modified to resemble the features of the king. And we see, on coins and elsewhere, a tendency to make gods and kings alike resemble Alexander, whose deification seems to justify the pretensions of his successors.

The study of Greek portraits (iconography, as it is called¹) can only be touched upon here in some of its more general aspects, and especially in its relation to the development of

¹ See Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*.

sculpture as a whole. One or two more technical points also call for notice.¹ In earlier times a portrait was always either a complete statue or a herm—that is to say, a plain square pillar, with the top carved into the form of a head. It was not, apparently, until Hellenistic times that the making of busts began (*πορομαί*): to the head was added a rendering, more or less conventional, of the shoulders and front part of the breast, often with some drapery thrown across it, while the back was hollowed out in the lower part and mounted on a stand.

§ 64. *History of the Dedications of the Attalids.*—The pre-eminent position of Pergamum in the art of the Hellenistic period is due to its being the seat of the powerful and enlightened dynasty of the Attalid kings. The founder of the greatness of the family was Philetaerus, who was placed by Lysimachus in charge of Pergamum, where there was a considerable store of treasure. His bold remonstrance against his master's crimes forced him into a revolt, which proved successful; he became ruler of Pergamum, and bequeathed his power to his nephews, Eumenes and Attalus. Attalus distinguished his accession in 241 B.C. by his great victories over the Gauls or Galatians. These barbarians were one of those hordes that had for many centuries been swarming out of Gaul into the south of Europe. Such a band had sacked Rome in 390 B.C.; in 278 B.C. another had devastated Greece, and had been repulsed from Delphi with the miraculous aid of Apollo. We next find them in Asia Minor, whither they were said to have first come at the invitation of a Bithynian prince; and then they became the terror of the settled inhabitants, sometimes hiring themselves out as mercenaries to the various contending princes, sometimes levying tribute on their own account from the defenceless population. It is the chief glory of Attalus that he was the first to withstand these barbarians with success. Such, at least, was the aspect under which his victory was regarded by those who celebrated it; and although both the victory itself, and the strengthening of the independent kingdom of Pergamum which resulted from it, may have been due in some degree to the skilful policy of Attalus during the internal strife of the Seleucid kingdom,²

¹ See Förster, *Das Porträt in der gr. Plastik*.

² The Gauls are called in a Pergamene inscription the allies of Antiochus, *i.e.* Hierax, the brother and rival of Seleucus Callinicus, whose part was taken by Attalus.

its result was such as to recall to the people of Attalus the deliverance of Marathon and Salamis. The terror inspired into the degenerate Greeks of Asia Minor by this fierce horde of barbarians, with their strange weapons and manner of fighting, their personal strength and stature, and their indomitable courage, had till then carried all before it; and even the victories of Attalus did not suffice to end the danger. The Gauls continued to harass and to terrify their neighbours until Eumenes II., the son and successor of Attalus, finally reduced them to submission in 166 B.C., at the end of several campaigns in which he had met with varied success. After this time they settled down as a peaceable community in the district of Galatia.

On the occasion of his great victories Attalus appears to have summoned from Greece a body of sculptors, who thenceforth made Pergamum their home, and formed a school to which we owe the greatest and most vigorous works of sculpture of the Hellenistic age. The inscriptions which record their work can easily be distinguished from those of another group of artists, some fifty years later, who were employed in the magnificent series of buildings and sculptures with which Eumenes decorated his capital. We shall consider the works made by both sets of sculptors with more detail; but in order to understand this wonderful revival of art in the East, while in Greece it was stagnating, we must realise the historical conditions which surrounded it—a struggle for existence between Greek and barbarian, the like of which had not been seen since the Persian wars.

§ 65. *The Dedications of Attalus I.*—The inscriptions incised upon the bases of the groups set up at Pergamum by Attalus to commemorate his victories have, many of them, been preserved; the statues which stood upon these bases were of bronze, and have disappeared; it seems, from the careful way in which their feet have been cut out from the blocks, that they must have been carried off to some other site, perhaps to Rome or Constantinople. But some marble statues have been recognised from their subject and style as derived from the earliest set of these Pergamene monuments, and represent scenes from the victory of Attalus over the Gauls; although the inscriptions show that his triumph was over other enemies as well, it was especially the Galatian figures which impressed both writers and artists; for Pliny mentions the sculptors employed by Attalus only as representing his battles against the Gauls. The

most famous of these extant statues is the "Dying Gaul" in the Capitol at Rome (Fig. 111). His nationality may be recognised from his distinctive necklace or torque, his rough hair combed straight back from the forehead, his moustache, and the shield and trumpet that lie on the ground beneath him. He has long been known as one of the masterpieces of ancient art; but in earlier days he was called the "Gladiator"; his barbarian origin could not be mistaken, but he was supposed to have fallen in the combats of the arena, "butchered to make a Roman holiday." With our present knowledge of the history of art, we cannot suppose that sculpture in Rome was ever capable of originating a figure of such wonderfully powerful modelling, and such dignity of pathos; nor is the choice of subject in itself credible. At Pergamum, on the other hand, the courage and fortitude of the Gauls had impressed their Greek conquerors no less than their savage and barbarous character, and we need not be surprised to find admiration and even pity for a fallen foe; while from the Pergamene artists, trained in the school of Lysippus, and adding to their artistic training the study of anatomy for which the great centres of learning in the East were noted, we might expect the excellence of modelling and execution which we find in the "Dying Gaul."

The marble statue in the Capitol is not, of course, the original set up by Attalus, if it belongs to the group of dedications of which the bases have been found, for they were all of bronze; but both the material—a local marble of Asia Minor or one of the adjacent islands—and the execution, which, though the statue has suffered somewhat at the hand of the restorer, is still fairly preserved, show that it is probably a genuine product of Pergamene art, as well as the copy of a Pergamene masterpiece; it may even be a contemporary replica. The fallen warrior is well described by Byron—

He leans upon his hand; his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his drooped head sinks gradually low:
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one.¹

¹ It has been suggested that he had killed himself like the Gaul of the Villa Ludovisi. But the wound is from a spear, not from a sword; and is on the right side of the chest, where it might well come in combat, but would hardly be self-inflicted. The sword on the basis is a restoration.

The Greek sculptor has caught the spirit of the northern barbarian; it is interesting to contrast the fortitude with which the Galatian meets his death with the contorted agony of the Giants on the Great Altar made by a later generation of the same school of artists. The hardened skin, matted hair, and strong but irregular features of the barbarian are rendered with a realism only equalled by the anatomical skill of the modelling; but the true appearance of the surface is never sacrificed to display of anatomical detail, as in some later statues of Asia



FIG. 111.—Dying Gaul (Rome, Capitol).

Minor—notably those of the Ephesian school. There is a moderation, alike in conception and execution, which suffices to indicate that this statue marks the highest point of sculpture in Pergamum. Another piece of sculpture, probably from the same series, is now in the Museo Boncompagni (formerly Villa Ludovisi) at Rome, and used to be known by the name of *Arria and Paetus*. It represents a Galatian warrior who, in defeat, is slaying his wife and himself rather than fall into the hand of the enemy. The subject, it must be confessed, is one less suited to sculpture; but there is some grace in the figure of the wife, who has already received her death wound,

and sinks at the feet of her husband, who supports her arm with his left hand while he stabs himself with his right hand, driving his short sword through his left shoulder towards his heart.¹ Here again the national character is clearly indicated; and there is a fine dramatic contrast between the warrior, who still stands and turns his head as in defiance of a pursuing foe, and the relaxed limbs and drooping head of the woman. There is, moreover, no contortion or agony of death here either; the dramatic interest still exceeds the pathological, even though death and wounds are represented with a vigorous realism.

Pliny gives a list of the sculptors who were employed by Attalus on the monuments in commemoration of his Gallic wars—Isigonus, Phryomachus, Stratoniceus, Antigonus; and this list is checked and supplemented by the inscriptions that have been found on the bases at Pergamum. The only artist's name mentioned which is certainly contemporary with the dedication is that of a certain *-γωρος*. This may be either Antigonus or Isigonus, they are both mentioned in Pliny's list; or it may be Epigonus, whose name is mentioned in other Pergamene inscriptions of the same period. Upon a somewhat later set of inscriptions, on the top of the basis, appear the names of a certain Praxiteles, who may belong to the family of the great Praxiteles, Xenocrates, and others of whom nothing further is known. Among these sculptors Antigonus and Xenocrates² were both of them writers on art as well as practical sculptors. Epigonus is of still more interest; for Pliny describes two works of his, a trumpeter and a child, whose caress of its slain mother was a sight to move pity.³ When we know that Epigonus was employed at Pergamum, it is tempting to restore his name as that of the artist whose name occurs on the basis of the groups of Attalus. The mother and child might well have represented Galatians, and formed a counterpart to the group of the warrior slaying himself and his wife. Most tempting of all

¹ See Baumeister, p. 1237, fig. 1410. The arm is wrongly restored, with the thumb down, such a thrust would have no force.

² See Introduction, p. 12. Xenocrates' career belongs to the earlier rather than the later part of the third century. But he may have been employed on the earliest dedications.

³ By a singular coincidence, the dead Amazon at Naples was grouped with a child in an early restoration, and hence the suggestion to connect this with the work of Epigonus. But the restoration is improbable in itself, and seems to rest on no good authority. See Michaelis, *Jahrb.* 1893, p. 119; Peterson, *Rom. Mitt.* 1893, p. 261.

is the identification of the "Dying Gaul" himself, with his large trumpet, as the *tubicen* mentioned by Pliny. But such speculations must not be taken as serious evidence, though they may help us to classify and appreciate the work of an artist otherwise unknown.

Another series of extant works has been brought into relation with a set of groups dedicated by Attalus on the Acropolis at Athens, probably on the occasion of his visit to that town in 200 B.C. They were seen by Pausanias close to the south wall of the Acropolis, and consisted of figures about three feet high. The purpose of this dedication was evidently to claim for the feats of Attalus against the Galatians a fame like that of the Persian wars, and a similar association with the mythical antitypes of the great struggle between Greek and barbarian. There was represented the battles of the Pergamenes against the Galatians, of the Athenians against the Persians, of the Athenians against the Amazons, and of the Gods against the Giants. The last of these groups shows us that the Pergamenes were already symbolising their victory over the Galatians in the same way in which the Athenians, on the Parthenon and elsewhere, had celebrated their victory over the Persians; and it must be admitted that, of the two adversaries, the Galatians had the more resemblance to the Greek conception of the wild Giants who fought against Zeus and the other Olympian gods. We shall see in the Great Altar at Pergamum the magnificent expression which was given later to this same idea.

There exists, scattered over the museums of Europe, a whole series of statues of combatants, some fallen, but still fighting to the last, some already wounded to death or extended lifeless on the ground; these are about three feet high, and their character corresponds exactly to the description of Pausanias; there are some of the defeated antagonists of each group, Galatians, Persians, Amazons, and Giants (Figs. 112, 113). It is a singular fact that no corresponding statues of the victorious combatants have been identified—indeed, we may say, that no such statues exist, for the small size and characteristic style of these works makes their recognition easy, and they could hardly have escaped notice. The explanation of this fact is still to seek. We might have supposed that only the defeated and dying were represented in the trophy, the conquerors being sufficiently implied by the wounds they had inflicted; but we know that the gods, at least,

were included, since a statue of Dionysus from this group was blown over into the theatre by a storm. This last fact also makes it probable, though hardly beyond doubt, that the originals were in bronze. All the extant statues of the series are in marble, but with a vigour and accuracy of modelling which place them above ordinary copies, and with a polish of the surface which is characteristic of Pergamene art and the schools dependent on Pergamum.¹ It is probably safest to suppose that the extant statues, or at least the majority of them, are contemporary replicas of those set up on the Acropolis; though it is barely possible that they may be the originals.

These little statues have never been surpassed in dramatic vigour and power; they do not, of course, aim at the expression of any high ideal, or even at any great beauty of form; but they express with wonderful realism and truth to nature the way in which the various sets of combatants take their defeat. In one case we see a Galatian, fallen and wounded, but still fighting to the last and recklessly exposing himself; in another a Persian, who is also beaten down, but seems to shrink together for a last effort in his defence (Fig. 113). The way in which the dead combatants have fallen is no less characteristic than their manner of fighting. A Persian, lying on his side, seems to have sunk quietly to rest; a Giant, who has fallen without a wound before the thunderbolt, lies on his back with his limbs outspread, as wild and savage in death as in life; and a young Galatian lies in much the same attitude; an Amazon, pierced with a wound in her breast, also lies on her back, but her figure is graceful even in death, as she lies with one hand beneath her head and one knee slightly drawn up (Fig. 112). For all the dramatic power, there is nowhere any agony or contortion; whether death comes by sudden blow or by more gradual collapse from wounds, its pain is not emphasised with pathological detail, though the way in which the figures have fallen shows a correct study of the effect of various wounds; above all there is none of that exaggerated, almost sentimental development of pathos which we see in later Pergamene work. Here all is

¹ This polish is regarded by some as an imitation of the surface of bronze. More probably it is a later substitute for the *γάρωσις* and *circumlitio* of earlier times, and is due to the use of a marble which had a less beautiful texture than Parian or Pentelic, but would take a high polish. See p. 29.

restrained and concise ; and, the choice of subject once granted, there is in everything a moderation and dignity such as we see also in the "Dying Gaul." The hairy and uncouth form of the Giants, the hardly less violent nature of the Galatians, and the more graceful, but no less vigorous figure of the Amazon, are all characterised with equal skill. Only in the case of the Persians we find a strange deviation from fact ; one warrior,



FIG. 112.—Dead Amazon and Giant, after Pergamene group on Acropolis at Athens (Naples).

though he wears a Persian cap, is otherwise completely nude, in violation of Persian custom. Perhaps the artist felt that, in order not to make the Persians, with whom the Athenians were matched, too effeminate adversaries in comparison with the Galatians, some such modification was justifiable. But perhaps it betrays an artistic convention such as must not surprise us even in the finest work of the Hellenistic age.

§ 66. *The Dedications of Eumenes II.*—Under Eumenes II., who succeeded his father Attalus in 197 B.C., the city of

Pergamum was enriched with a series of buildings which made it rank among the most splendid and beautiful cities of the



FIG. 113.—Fighting Persian, after Pergamene group on Acropolis at Athens (Rome, Vatican).

ancient world. The most famous of these monuments was the great altar of Zeus, which was among the chief wonders of the

ancient world, and so impressed the early Christians that it is referred to in the *Revelation* as "the Throne of Satan." It consisted of a huge basis, more than 100 feet square, on the top of which stood a colonnade surrounding an open court in which the altar of sacrifice itself was placed. The court was approached by a broad staircase, cut into the square structure, which took up about three-fifths of its west side. Two sculptured friezes decorated this magnificent building; the chief one ran round the basis in a continuous composition; it was interrupted by the broad staircase, but turned round the wings of the building which bordered it, so that the sculptured design runs right up to the steps, which limit it at the extremity into a narrowing field. There was also a smaller frieze, probably on the inside of the colonnade above. These sculptures have been dug up by the Germans, and carried off to the Berlin Museum, of which they are the chief ornament.

The great frieze, which represents the battle of Gods and Giants, is the most extensive and characteristic example of Pergamene art, and perhaps the most imposing and overwhelming, at least at first glance, of all the monuments of Greek sculpture that have been preserved to our time. It is true that the restlessness of the composition, and the almost unlimited wealth of design scattered in profusion over the whole frieze, are fatiguing and unsatisfying on a more careful study; but the knowledge and skill of the sculptors, their extraordinary richness in resource, and their wonderful mastery over their material, must always command our admiration.

The great frieze is over seven feet high, so that its figures add the effect of colossal size to that of their dramatic vigour and violent action. The battle of the Gods and Giants, or individual scenes from it, had always been a favourite theme with Greek artists; but we have seen that it meant more to the Pergamenes than to any other Greeks since the age of the Persian wars, and that their own victories over the fierce and savage Galatians were really more suggestive of such a prototype than any earlier contest. When Eumenes undertook to commemorate his exploits and those of his father Attalus by a frieze which should represent the subject on a scale and with a completeness that had never before been approached, the artists whom he employed devoted themselves to the task in a manner characteristic of the age. They were not content to

reproduce the familiar scenes of the great battle according to the old usage, with a new dramatic power added; but they, probably aided by the learned mythologists who frequented the Pergamene library, made a mythological study of the gods and their opponents the basis of their work; and as a result they have represented the whole Greek pantheon on this altar with a completeness, almost a superfluity, that savours of an age of criticism and eclecticism rather than of religious belief. We see not only the chief gods, each accompanied by his proper attendants and attributes and sacred animals, but all the minor divinities, each in his proper place; and many are included who perhaps would hardly find a place in a purely Hellenic system; many are merely variations of the same mythological personality. If so much confusion and multiplication of characters is to be seen in the extant fragments, which only amount to about half of the whole composition, we may imagine how much stronger the impression would be if we possessed the whole. It was no unnecessary help, even to a Greek, to add the name of each of the Gods on the cornice above, while each of the Giants has his name incised below him. While the combat is continued from end to end of the frieze in one writhing mass of Giants, with whom their divine antagonists are inextricably entangled, several groups at once stand out conspicuous; the two chief are those of Zeus and of Athena, which probably were both upon the eastern face of the structure, opposite to the staircase, and balanced one another in the composition. This eastern face was evidently the principal one; it faced the open space which formed the religious and political agora of the city; and so the two chief deities here find their appropriate place, Zeus, to whom, as the deliverer, the altar was dedicated, and Athena, whose temple was the chief building on the Acropolis above. Zeus is engaged in combat with three Giants (Fig. 114); but although his weapons are the irresistible aegis and thunderbolt, even he is not exempt from the strain and violence of combat. He strides to his right, facing the spectator; in his outstretched right arm is a thunderbolt which he is about to hurl, while with his left he shakes the snaky folds of the aegis in the face of one of his opponents; his long mantle hangs over his shoulders and round his legs, leaving his finely modelled torso bare. The figure is full of life and action; but the use made by Zeus of his weapons seems hardly



FIG. 114.—Group from Pergamene Altar; Zeus and Giants (Berlin).

adequate to their divine power; and there is something almost grotesque about the way in which a thunderbolt he has already thrown has pierced with its prongs the thigh of a fallen adversary, as if it were a mere common piece of metal.¹ And if Zeus has to fight hand-to-hand, the drapery which well becomes his majestic figure cannot but impede his movement. This group, in fact, shows both the strength and weakness of the sculptor. In power of composition, in dramatic force and action, in vigour and correctness of modelling, it cannot be surpassed; yet the artist has neither been content to follow the traditional manner of rendering the scene, nor has he ventured to throw over entirely all old conventions, and to create a new conception of the nature of the combat and of the combatants. It is this strange combination of study with imagination, of originality with eclecticism, which we shall find throughout the work.

The group in which Athena is the chief figure is the finest in design and in preservation of those that remain (Fig. 115). She advances to the right, and seizes by his hair the young Giant who is her opponent. His figure, human but for his outspread wings, and less savage in its strength than those of most of his fellows, slants right across in a direction opposite to her advance; and the balance and composition of the main lines of the group which result from this crossing of the opposing forces are admirable in their effect. Here, too, although the guardian snake of Athena attacks her adversary, there is less of the conventional weapons and their physical effect than in the opponents of Zeus. The vanquished Giant has no wound nor Athena any weapon of offence; and his agonising, upturned glance, as his head is drawn irresistibly back by the goddess, is most dramatic in effect. The helplessness of the Giant in the hand of his divine conqueror is expressed also by the vain grasp of his right hand at her arm over his head; and the attitude gives to his figure a certain grace even in its agony such as we do not often see in this frieze. Another wonderfully dramatic effect is gained by the appearance of the Earth herself, who rises to the waist above the ground in front of Athena, begging with a gesture of prayer and a despairing upward gaze for her children the Giants, while Victory floats over her head to crown

¹ This is really almost as absurd as if a savage killed in battle with a civilised enemy were represented with a Maxim gun stuck through his body.



FIG. 115.—Group from Pergamene Altar: Athena, Giant, Earth (Berlin).

Athena. Yet, in spite of all balance of composition and of dramatic action, the mind of the spectator is bewildered here, as everywhere else in the frieze, by a too restless variety of line. There is nowhere any fixed point on which the eye can rest, nor any surface free from the turbulent waves of hair and wings and drapery, unless it be a nude body, in which the strained muscles and contorted position give a similar impression. The struggle is continued in a succession of groups all varying in their motives and circumstances. One, which is preserved upon several continuous blocks, shows the deities of light—Helios (the sun) driving a pair of horses in the long, floating drapery of a charioteer, while before him rides a goddess on a horse, who probably symbolises the dawn (Eos). However suitable such a representation may be on a vase representing the sunrise, one cannot help feeling it rather out of place in the midst of a battle where every god is engaged with his own adversary. Selene (the moon), who is seated on a mule, with her back to the spectator, her head turned to the left, is among the most pleasing in the frieze, both for figure and drapery. Artemis appears in the guise of a huntress with her dogs; close to her is Hecate, who offers yet another example of the attempt of the artist to combine a traditional form with a new and almost incompatible motive. Her triple figure is represented, but what we see appears at first glance to be only a single figure, seen from the back and advancing into the ground of the relief; the extra heads and limbs that appear behind it have no apparent organic connection with it. Apollo stands almost facing the spectator as an archer, his chlamys hanging over his left arm, and his body entirely nude—a fine and effective piece of modelling, and quieter in its pose than most of the combatants, especially in contrast to the writhing Giants around. Dionysus appears with his panther and his satyrs. The deities of the sea, Poseidon, and Amphitrite, and Triton, and the rest occupy a whole wing on one side of the staircase. A prominent position is found also for Cybele, with her lions and attendants. For the Giants it was impossible to find as much variety as for the Gods, but every device has been used to attain a similar impression. Some, as the Giants of earlier art, are like human warriors, only of wilder aspect and greater strength. This is the character under which we saw them portrayed in the dedication of Attalus at Athens. But the later Pergamene

sculptors did not content themselves with this type. Whether they first gave to the Giants the snake-footed form in which many of them appear on the altar is a matter of dispute; but in any case they did not originate the combination; it was already familiar in the representation of Typhoeus and of the earth-born hero Cecrops. It appears in every variety on the frieze: sometimes the snaky legs begin at the thigh, sometimes not till below the knee; and many of the Giants have wings also like Typhoeus. Some are still more strange mixtures of different natures, like a lion-headed monster, with lion's claws and human body and limbs, who is strangled by one of the Gods. But what is most characteristic throughout is the writhing serpent coils, which are seen almost everywhere in the frieze, and contribute in no little degree to the feeling of struggle and restless motion that pervades the whole.

The relief is high; many of the figures, or parts of them, being entirely detached from the background. The architectural frame in which the frieze is set is itself of peculiar construction; it projects to an exceptional extent both above and below, and thus the relief gains a depth of setting which enhances its effect. The chief technical peculiarity of the relief is that there is not here, as usually in Greek sculpture, a normal front plane which is never exceeded by the projecting portions; the limbs of the combatants seem to project almost at the artist's caprice as they advance or retreat in or out of the background; and this motion itself is not only along the direction of the frieze, but at right angles to it towards or away from the spectator. Thus we have a still further increase of the bewilderment and confusion which indeed challenge our admiration, but also offend a finer artistic sense. We see, indeed, a living and moving mass; but it is more like the phantasmagoria of a troubled dream than the calm dignity and breadth of the Greek sculpture of an earlier age. The drapery, too, adds to this impression; it is full of flow and life, with a wonderful sense of texture and motion; yet it has no single broad and intelligible scheme. Here we see a device studied from an earlier model, there a piece of direct and realistic observation from nature—but all confused with an eclectic yet indiscriminating desire to use every resource of art at once. When we come to the modelling of the nude, we must assign a higher merit to the Pergamene work, as was to be expected

in a school directly dependent on the pupils of Lysippus. Nothing could surpass the mastery with which the heavy and muscular torsoes of the Giants are rendered, whether they are strained in the combat or contorted in the agony of death; and we have noted in some of the torsoes of the Gods, such as Zeus and Apollo, almost the only surfaces on which the eye could rest for a moment from the confused detail around. The expression, again, which we see in faces like that of Earth, or of the young Giant seized by Athena, are worthy of the successors of Scopas, and have all his dramatic power, though more distorted and less restrained in character. And the way in which the marble is worked to represent whatever the artist has in his mind has never been excelled in mere technical skill, though this very facility has sometimes led to a lack of true sculptural instinct in the choice of what ought to be represented.

The smaller frieze of the same altar was never finished, and in some parts was only blocked out in the rough; it represented scenes from the life of the local hero Telephus. The chief interest of the frieze lies in its resemblance in background and setting to the Hellenistic reliefs of Alexandrian origin; it is, indeed, a work of the same nature in a continuous composition instead of separate panels; the same landscape background occurs throughout. We may well see in this an influence of Alexandria on the art of Pergamum, such as was probable enough from their literary rivalry.

The Great Altar was probably built during the most prosperous and quiet time of the reign of Eumenes, between 180 and 170 B.C. The names of the artists employed were inscribed upon it, but have almost entirely disappeared. Only one name is of interest, which appears in the genitive, that of Menecrates, the adoptive father of the sculptors of the Farnese bull. This probably implies that his sons were among the sculptors of the great frieze.

§ 67. *The Rhodian School: the Laocoön.*—The activity of the Rhodian school of sculpture is attested by a large number of signatures of artists which have been found in the island, as well as by the statement of Pliny that there were a hundred colossal statues in the island which, though eclipsed by the huge work of Chares, would each have sufficed to make any other place famous. Apparently many sculptors were attracted

from Asia Minor by the great prosperity of the island in the latter part of the Hellenistic age. The inscriptions of these Rhodian sculptors fall into two groups.¹ Of the earlier of these groups, which belongs to about 200 B.C., we have no extant works. One of the sculptors belonging to it was Aristonidas, who made a statue of Athamas, in the remorse which followed the fit of madness in which he slew his son. This statue is one of those, like the Jocasta of Silanion, in which we hear of strange admixtures of other metals with bronze to produce a certain tint. Here a mixture of iron is said to have rendered the blush of shame and contrition. The technical difficulties in the way of believing such a story are apparently insuperable.² To the later group of sculptors, who worked at the beginning of the first century B.C., belong Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, the sculptors of the Laocoön (Fig. 116). Though this work may, in actual date, be assigned to the Roman rather than the Hellenistic period of art, it is better to treat the whole Rhodian school together in continuous succession, and not to separate from its antecedents a work which shows so clearly the influence of Pergamum.

The Laocoön has acquired an almost fictitious importance from the circumstances under which it was exhibited in the palace of Titus at Rome, from the essay on the principles of art, of which Lessing made it the theme, and from the controversy which has arisen about its date and affinities. Now that we have the Pergamene frieze for comparison, and are able from inscriptions to fix the date of Agesander and his colleagues within narrow limits, the Laocoön falls naturally into its place in the history of Greek sculpture, as the last and most extreme example of Pergamene art, which strives after exaggerated pathos by an actual representation of pain and agony, and refuses no device that may add to the dramatic, almost theatrical, effects, because such a device does not readily harmonise with the principles of sculpture. Yet Pliny speaks of the Laocoön as a work to be set above all others, whether in painting or sculpture, and Lessing, instead of quoting it as an example of what sculpture should not attempt, uses it, in comparison with Virgil's description, as an illustration of the difference between the principles of poetry and sculpture. If Lessing had been able

¹ See Loewy, 159-205 ; Hiller von Gärtringen, *Jahrb.*, 1894, p. 23.

² See Introduction, p. 32.

to see all the examples of Greek sculpture which now fill our museums, from the Elgin marbles to the Pergamene altar, we can hardly doubt that he would have estimated the Laocoön in a different way. With this group, indeed, we enter upon the study of a series of works, such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus dei Medici, which we shall find ourselves compelled to judge by a different standard from that of Winckelmann and his associates. To them these late works were representative of Greek art, simply because they had never seen any monuments of better period, such as we now may study in any museum; and, instead of disparaging their criticism when we may find reason to modify it in the light of fuller evidence, we cannot but wonder at the intuition which led them to recognise, in the products of a decadent age, the trace of those virtues which had distinguished the highest period of Greek sculpture.

Now that we know the group of Laocoön to have been made some fifty years before Virgil's description of the same subject was written, our comparison of the literary and the sculptural treatment of the same theme is freed from a good deal of vain speculation. The group cannot be intended as an illustration of Virgil's description; and although both are doubtless derived from a common tradition, what we know of Virgil's method in other cases will warn us against assuming any very close imitation of the original from which he copied, especially in the pictorial realisation of the scene which must have been in his mind. On the other hand, the description of Virgil does not appear to be derived directly from the group made by Agesander and his colleagues. It is by the succession of the narrative, as Lessing points out, that the poet attains his effect, not by an elaborate description of the pose of his subjects at any one dramatic moment. The awful approach of the serpents across the sea, their first attack on the two children, and their turning on Laocoön himself, when he rushes to the aid of his sons, cannot find any expression in sculpture, though on these things the pathos and terror of the poetical description mainly depend. But when we turn to the group itself, we cannot help feeling that the object of the sculptor was not so much to express in marble the story of Laocoön as to make use of the theme as a pretext for a group of figures struggling in the agony of a cruel death; and, however much we may admire the skill with which he has rendered his repulsive subject, the

choice of such a subject in itself suffices to show that he—or rather the age in which he lived—had lost the finer instinct for



FIG. 116.—Laocöon (Rome, Vatican).

sculptural fitness. Death in itself, when met with a fortitude like that of the dying Galatian, may reveal the character as nothing else can, and show a quiet dignity, which affords an ad-

mirable subject for sculpture ; but the case is different when such a subject leads to a mere pathological study of agony and contortion. There is not here even that grace of composition and bodily form which distinguishes the young Giant conquered by Athena upon the Pergamene altar—a figure which somewhat resembles the Laocoön in pose, if we remember that the upraised right hand of the Laocoön is a false restoration, and that his arm should be restored, as on ancient reproductions of the group, with his elbow bent back so as to bring his hand close to his head.

The technical excellence of the group, no less in composition than in execution, must be acknowledged. It is of a pyramidal form, and the contrast between the father and the two sons gives it variety. The one on the right seems as if about to escape, a version of the story in which the sculptors followed the early poet Arctinus. The expression of agony in the drawn brow and open mouth of the father, and in the despairing glance of the younger son, is borne out in every line of muscle and limb ; we see throughout the strain of intense physical torture. Such pathological study, however far from the true domain of sculpture, would be justified in a sense, and even have a peculiar merit of its own, if its realism was equalled by its correctness. But one cannot help feeling that the motive of the whole is inadequately rendered. The snakes have no truth to nature, but are zoological monstrosities. They clearly are not of the poisonous order, but kill their victims by crushing them in their irresistible coils ; but for such a process they have not the girth or muscular development, and the coils in which they are wound about Laocoön and his children give them no real grip, but are merely designed in a conventional and decorative manner to suit the artistic effect, and one of them is biting like a dog. It is the same mixture of realism and convention which we saw in the great frieze of the Pergamene altar ; and although we cannot deny to the sculptors a wonderful power of design, of modelling, and of expression, their work lacks the truth to nature, which alone can justify so extreme a realism.

§ 68. *Tralles—the Farnese Bull.*—Another great group of sculpture, which, like the Laocoön, was originally set up in Rhodes and later transferred to Rome, has been preserved to our time. This is the group at Naples known as the Farnese

Bull (Fig. 117). It represents the cruel punishment inflicted by Zethus and Amphion, the Theban heroes, upon their step-mother Dirce, at the instigation of their mother Antiope, who looks on as an unmoved spectator. They have caught a young bull, to which they are in the act of tying their victim by a rope; she lies on the ground, and lifts her hand in vain supplication. The sculptors, Apollonius and Tauriscus, were brothers, and probably lived early in the first century B.C.¹ Thus, in date, this group also falls into the next period; but it belongs, like the Laocoön, to the works of the Rhodian school, dependent on Pergamum, and it seems better not to separate it from this connection. In its pyramidal composition this group recalls the Laocoön, and it shows the same skill in dealing with a huge mass of marble;² but here the skill of the design is still greater, since the group produces a similar effect from whatever side it be seen, and is not intended only for a front view, like the Laocoön. The choice of subject is clearly due to a desire for an ostentatious display of the sculptor's skill, and so is characteristic of the school and period.

The setting of the group is of interest, as showing another influence which we have already noticed at work in another example of Pergamene art—the smaller frieze of the Great Altar; it is really a translation into the round of those pictorial accessories which we have first seen translated into relief in the Hellenistic panels, probably of Alexandrian origin. So here we have a rocky field on which the scene takes place, and it is diversified not only by plants and animals, wild and tame, but also by a small seated figure, a personification of the mountain Cithaeron, on which the action takes place. But the minute size of these accessory figures, and their disproportion to the main group, offends us by its incongruity. It is yet another example of that excessive and indiscriminating use of convention which seems peculiarly unfitting in a work which claims our admiration for the skill of the sculptor and his realistic power. Another attribute which seems out of place, though in a different way, is the lyre of Amphion, which leans against a

¹ See Hiller von Gärtringen, *Mith. Ath.* 1894, p. 37, who publishes an inscription belonging to a son or grandson of one of them.

² Here, as in the case of the Laocoön, Pliny states, the work was made *ex uno lapide*. Either he is wrong, or he means merely "in one continuous piece of marble"; several blocks are joined together in the case of both works.



FIG. 117.—Farnese Bull (Naples).

tree-trunk at his feet, while he is in the act of seizing and mastering the bull. Here we again see the same use of convention, which, though it does not seem incongruous in an archaic work, is here even less appropriate than on the Pergamene frieze.

§ 69. *The Ephesian School—Agasias.*—We have already, in the case of Rhodes and Tralles, transgressed the limit which we assigned, on general grounds, to the Hellenistic period, in order to follow out the ultimate development in Asia Minor of those schools of sculpture which were, in their origin, dependent on the associates and pupils of Lysippus. At Ephesus we find yet another school, which shows clear traces of the influence of the great Sicyonian master, at a time separated by more than two centuries from the age of Alexander. This school is not mentioned by ancient authorities, but is known to us only from inscriptions;¹ its two chief names are Agasias and Menophilus; but Agasias is the name of more than one artist. Besides the Agasias, son of Dositheus, who made the famous statue of the Borghese warrior,² now in the Louvre, there is another Agasias, son of Menophilus, whose name occurs at Delos on a basis which fits a statue of a wounded and fallen warrior found close by. The two statues are very similar in style, and are probably the work of two cousins of the same name.³

The Borghese warrior stands with his feet planted far apart, and stretching out his shield to the utmost reach of his left arm, while his right arm holds his sword in reserve (Fig. 118). The attitude is that of a combatant on foot attacking a horseman; it is evidently chosen because it strains every muscle of the body, and so gives an opportunity for display of the sculptor's knowledge of anatomy; and in this display consists the main interest of the work. We see here the last development of the great school of Argos and Sicyon, which had devoted itself to the study of athletic forms. It is true that we have before us a combatant, not an athlete; and in this we may see the influence of Lysippus and his pupils who represented the battles of Alexander, and of the Pergamene artists who celebrated the

¹ See Loewy, 287-292.

² Usually called, in old books, the Borghese Gladiator.

³ It has been asserted that because the Borghese statue was found at Antium it must date from Imperial times; but it is probable enough that it was transferred from elsewhere to the Imperial villa there. The inscription, according to Loewy, is about contemporary with those of the other Agasias.

Galatian wars ; but the opportunity for rendering the nude male form in the utmost tension is hindered by no clothes or defensive



FIG. 118.—Borghese Warrior, by Agasias (Louvre).

armour, and so the subject suits the sculptor's purpose as well as if it had been athletic. The Borghese warrior is essentially an anatomical study ; every muscle and sinew stands out clearly,

and is rendered with great knowledge and accuracy ; but the figure looks almost as if it had been skinned, and there is no covering of flesh, nor any attempt to render the actual texture of the surface of the body. We may compare this treatment with the almost equally dry and muscular rendering of the body and limbs in the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton ; and we can at once recognise the difference between the early work and the late. Critius and Nesiotes are indeed carried away by their mastery of athletic form, which is too new and too hardly won by observation and diligence to be unconscious, like that of the great sculptors of the finest period ; and as a natural result they emphasise unduly many details which in a living body are only to be seen by close study ; but their object is to make a worthy monument to the slayers of the Tyrants, and in the splendid dash and vigour of the onset we can forget the too dry and hard treatment of the muscles. But in the work of Agasias we feel that the muscular exaggeration is the purpose of the statue, and that the attitude of attack is merely chosen as a pretext for its display. And, moreover, the work bears the impress of academical and anatomical study, such as the scientific schools of Alexandria and Asia Minor had encouraged, rather than of fresh and diligent observation of the living and moving body. For this reason the Borghese warrior is excellent as an anatomical model ; but, as a work of art, it merely excites our admiration of the sculptor's knowledge and skill, but in no way interests us in his theme.

§ 70. *Later Ideals of the Gods ; Apollo Belvedere, Aphrodite of Melos, etc.*—In speaking of the Apollo Belvedere, it is needful for us to bear in mind the increase of our knowledge of Greek art since the end of the last century ; the same caution was needed in the case of the Laocoön. Since the days of Winckelmann and his followers, the Apollo Belvedere has acquired a sort of prescriptive right to rank as a typical example of a Greek god as rendered by the finest Greek sculpture ; and, as a natural consequence, many excellences have been attributed to this statue which it does, in some degree, actually possess, as a more or less direct product of the art of Greece. Now that we can see those same qualities exhibited in a less contaminated form by many other extant works of better period and more authentic character, we do not think of turning to the Apollo Belvedere for their illustration ; but, in comparing the estimate

of the Apollo Belvedere which is forced upon us by modern criticism with the enthusiastic admiration of earlier writers on Greek art, we must remember that he is now being judged by a different standard. If it is his defects rather than his perfection on which we have to dwell, this is because we now compare him with the genuine products of Hellenic art, instead of with the mass of Graeco-Roman works among which he stands out in conspicuous excellence.

The statue (Fig. 119) stands in the Belvedere of the Vatican, from which it takes its name, and is a marble copy of a bronze original. This is evident both from the character of the modelling, especially in the hair, and from the design; a large thin expanse of garment, like the chlamys which hangs from the left arm of the god, is easily enough rendered by a sheet of bronze, but in marble is clearly unsuitable. The god stands with his left arm extended, his right lowered, and his feet rather widely apart; his glance follows the direction of his extended left arm, and the position suggests an archer, who has just shot an arrow and watches its flight.¹ Such is the most usual Greek conception of Apollo, and the correctness of the interpretation is confirmed by the Apollo of the Pergamene frieze, who stands in a similar position, and is certainly shooting with bow and arrow.² This Pergamene figure, however, also offers a contrast; he is standing firmly on his two feet as an archer should, and is full of life and vigour. The Apollo Belvedere, on the other hand, seems gracefully posing as an archer rather than actually shooting, and there is something theatrical about the disdainful smile of his parted lips. The eyeballs, though shadowed by the projecting brow, are in themselves remarkably prominent, and show a strongly convex curve; this is best visible when the face is seen from below. The modelling of the body is in many ways the very opposite to what we see in the Pergamene figures; there every muscle is emphasised and even

¹ A statue in St. Petersburg, evidently reproducing the same original, known as the Apollo Stroganoff, holds in the left hand the folds of some object like an aegis or goat-skin—not, it seems, the end of the chlamys. Accordingly some have asserted that the Apollo Belvedere also held the aegis, not a bow. The matter is one of endless and not very profitable controversy. Furtwängler cuts the knot by declaring the Apollo Stroganoff a modern forgery (*Meisterwerke*, p. 660; Eng. trans. p. 406).

² Furtwängler, *l.c.*, says that the Belvedere statue held also a branch of bay and woollen fillets in the right hand. This would make the motive of the outstretched bow absurd.



FIG. 119.—Apollo Belvedere (Rome, Vatican).

exaggerated; here all strong modelling is refined away until we have a form which may, perhaps, be called ethereal, but is certainly lacking in human vigour. It is perhaps a reaction against the realistic tendency which was at the time so strong in Pergamum and elsewhere; but the Apollo Belvedere is certainly open to an objection which some critics make, unjustly, against the idealistic tendency in sculpture; in him generalisation and avoidance of individualistic traits has gone so far as to lose touch with nature. If we had not other works of better period to correct our impression, we might, when we look at this statue, be inclined to sympathise with the charge which has been brought against Greek art generally by those ignorant of its history and conditions—that it cares more for mere grace and beauty of form than for truth to nature and expression of character. How little such a general criticism is justified we can see from the whole study of Greek sculpture; but it nevertheless does apply in this instance. As to the precise school and period to which the Apollo Belvedere is to be assigned we have no certain evidence.¹ More than one copy from the same original exists, and therefore that original must have been a well-known work; the character of its style which we have already noticed, and above all the rather theatrical nature of the pose, seem to show that we must assign it to the Hellenistic age; but we have no clue to guide us to any more definite conclusion.²

The Artemis of Versailles (or *Diane à la biche*), now in the Louvre (Fig. 120), has been universally recognised as the counterpart of the Apollo Belvedere, and by a correct instinct; the modelling and conception are similar in character, and most of what has been said about the Apollo applies to the Artemis also. The figure of the virgin huntress, tall and slim, rushing through the woods in pursuit of her quarry, and reaching an arrow from her quiver with her right hand, is one with which we are familiar in Greek art, from the time of Strongylion down; it is finely

¹ Winter, *Jahrb.* 1892, p. 164, assigns the Apollo Belvedere to Leochares, on the ground of its resemblance to that artist's Ganymede, and Furtwängler agrees with him. I must confess myself unable to see the least resemblance in style between the two works; also, on more general grounds, we cannot regard the Apollo Belvedere as even in origin a possible creation of the fourth century.

² There is no evidence for the theory that this Apollo, the Artemis of Versailles, and a certain Athena should be grouped together as an offering set up at Delphi after the repulse of the Gauls in 279 B.C.



FIG. 120.—Artemis of Versailles (Louvre).

embodied in this statue, with a successful striving for the desired effect; but all is marred by an addition like so many we have already noted in Hellenistic art; the stag which she holds by the horn with her left hand is merely a conventional attribute, such as we find often enough on early vases and statues; but it is remarkably out of place in a work like this, which depends for its effect on the reality and truth of the impression conveyed. The way in which the drapery is turned back above the left knee, merely in order to display the beauty of the thigh, is another touch that betrays a master of the decadence.

We must now turn to a work which, though it must be assigned to the same period, is of an entirely different character. This is the famous statue known as the Venus of Melos (Fig. 121), which is the chief treasure of the Louvre, and is considered by many, not without reason, to be the most beautiful of all the statues that have survived from antiquity. There is a breadth and simplicity about the modelling of this statue which recall at first glance the character of the fifth century, and its attribution to so late a period always excites a conscious or unconscious protest. Yet we shall see good reason for the place to which it is assigned in the history of sculpture. The statue was found at Melos, in a grotto, together with some other antiquities, among them a portion of a plinth, which had on it an inscription recording that the statue it bore was made by a sculptor whose name ended either in -xander or -sander, of Antioch on the Maeander.¹ The name is otherwise unknown; but the character of the writing suffices to show that he probably lived about 100 B.C. This plinth is said to have joined on to the plinth of the Venus of Melos at the place where that plinth is cut away under her left foot; but it has now disappeared, and some have even suggested that its disappearance was not accidental, but was contrived by those who wished to claim a more distinguished authorship for the statue. There has been much controversy about this question. On the whole it is probably safest to follow the verdict of Loewy, who, after a careful summing up of the evidence, decides that the connection of plinth and statue must be regarded as "not proven."²

¹ See Loewy, p. 298.

² Furtwängler, in his *Masterpieces*, accepts the plinth as belonging, and even restores the statue on its authority as resting the left arm on a pillar, for which the basis has a socket. But his restoration is not convincing, and he himself acknowledges it to be awkward in pose.

The goddess stands, her left foot raised on a slight inequality of the ground, and her drapery wrapped about her lower limbs,



FIG. 121.—Aphrodite from Melos (Louvre).

the upper part of her body being bare. The motive of her position cannot be ascertained, unless we can discover the

correct restoration of her arms—a problem which, in spite of endless discussion, has hitherto found no final solution. The pose of the figure is almost identical with that which we see in a type of Aphrodite grouped with Ares, of which we have several copies. In another type she rests her left foot on a helmet, and holds in her hands the shield of Ares, which she uses as a mirror; and a later modification of the same type is seen in the Victory of Brescia, who is engraving on a shield the names of those whose exploits she celebrates. But it does not seem probable that the pose of the Aphrodite found in Melos—for her identification as Aphrodite follows an instinct that cannot be gainsaid—was due to her holding a shield. She may have been holding up her drapery with her right hand; for without such assistance it could not stay where it is for any length of time; but this, too, is not a satisfactory explanation, and it is probably wiser to acknowledge that we are at fault.

In the arrangement of the drapery we see the stamp of the Hellenistic age. The artist wishes to represent the bodily beauty of the goddess unveiled, but he also has a feeling that nudity is inconsistent with her majesty and dignity; and, halting between the two opinions, he adopts a compromise which once more brings us back to the strange relapse into convention so common in Hellenistic art. The drapery, like that of Zeus in the Pergamene frieze, is so designed as to allow of an effective display of the figure while lending its dignity to the deity; but, in order to attain this end, it is placed in a position where it would be almost impossible to arrange it, and whence it certainly must fall at the slightest movement. A sculptor of the fifth century would not, probably, have ventured to represent Aphrodite except in complete drapery: a sculptor of the fourth century represented her completely nude without hesitation. It remained for the eclectic art of the Hellenistic age to attempt to combine two irreconcilable conceptions, and to be forced by the attempt into an unnatural convention.

But, in spite of this defect, we must acknowledge that the artist has caught much of the spirit and the dignity of the best period of Greek art. For a conception of the female figure at once so dignified and so beautiful we have to go back to the sculpture of the Parthenon; and we see the same breadth and simplicity of modelling in the drapery as in the nude. The

expression of the face, too, has the grace and charm which we admire in the work of Praxiteles, without a hint of the too soft and sensual tendency which we may trace in his followers, if not in himself. The sculptor who made this Aphrodite of Melos must have lived, in spirit, in the age of Phidias, even although he could not entirely escape the contaminating influences of his own day, and he has given us a work which, now that we have lost the originals from which he drew his inspiration, is not unworthy to transmit something of the beauty and majesty of the great works of the fifth century.

§ 71. *Other Works of the Hellenistic Age.*—Amongst the works made to glorify the victories of Alexander and his successors, those that we have hitherto noticed have either portrayed the actual scenes of combat or the portrait of the monarch in whose honour they were made, and some combined the two. But the custom of setting up a statue of the goddess Victory (*Νίκη*) in celebration of a successful battle or campaign was usual in Hellenistic times as it had been in earlier Greece; and the Louvre possesses a statue, found on Samothrace, which is a magnificent example of the custom (Fig. 122). This Victory was set up by Demetrius Poliorcetes to celebrate a naval victory in 306 B.C. We do not know who was the sculptor of the statue, but it is reproduced upon the coins of Demetrius, and has been identified with their help; hence we may infer that it was greatly admired at the time, and it ranks as a typical work of the beginning of the Hellenistic age.

The goddess is represented as standing on the prow of a ship. With her right hand she holds a trumpet to her lips, with her left she carries a cross-tree, the framework of a trophy. Her wings are outspread behind her, and her drapery is swept by the wind so as to cling close to her body in front, and to stream in heavy masses away from her limbs; her knees are hardly bent, and so the figure, in spite of its rush of forward motion, does not seem to advance by its own speed, but by that of the ship on which it stands. The effect of the statue is most powerful, and, like that of the Pergamene frieze, overwhelming at first glance; but it must be admitted to be sensational in character. In order to realise this we may compare it with the Victory of Paeonius, or even with the figures in rapid motion from the Nereid monument, which are intermediate between it and the earlier work. There is a realistic vigour and dramatic

force about the Victory of Samothrace which carry us away at the first impulse ; but from it the eye turns with relief to rest



FIG. 122.—Victory from Samothrace (Louvre).

on the simpler conception and execution of the fifth century. This is chiefly the effect of the treatment of the drapery,

which has no breadth or system; some of it reminds us of the finest bits of modelling in earlier work, and is doubtless imitated from them; other parts of it show a close and careful study from nature; but in the whole there is a restlessness that is distracting—an impression similar, though less in degree, to that produced by the Pergamene frieze. Theatrical power and mastery of technique are there; and there is something pictorial about the design which must have been peculiarly effective in the surroundings amidst which the statue was erected, in the open air and in the open country. Then it must have been almost startling to come upon this effective Victory, rushing through the air on her ship to announce her tidings; and if there is too conscious a straining after effect on the part of the artist, we must also recognise that he has been successful in his effort.

Another work which cannot be placed far from the beginning of the Hellenistic age is a head found at Eleusis of remarkable workmanship (Fig. 123). Owing to a certain theory as to its identity it has come to be known by the name of the "Eubuleus," which it seems likely to retain, even when spoken of by writers who deny the correctness of the identification. This is unfortunate, though not unnatural, since any name is better than none by which to refer to an extant work.¹ It consists of the head and shoulders of a young and beardless man, more than life size. It was never part of a complete statue, nor on the other hand, is it either cut away below the neck into a square pillar, as is usual with herms both in earlier and later times, nor finished off as the conventional bust which has been common since Hellenistic times. It is, in fact, transitional in form between the two; and this is consistent with a position in the history of sculpture at the beginning of the Hellenistic age. Such a position we may assign to it also on the ground of its artistic character. The full and wonderfully soft modelling of the flesh, the deeply undercut and overhanging masses of the hair,

¹ It was found in the sanctuary of Pluto at Eleusis, and was called Eubuleus because that god, or hero (he is both in myth), was there associated with Hades in worship. And further, on the authority of a headless herm at Rome with the inscription *Εὐβουλῆς Πραξιτέλους*, it was claimed by both Benndorf and Furtwängler as an original work by Praxiteles. Kern, in *Mith. Ath.*, 1891, p. 1, showed that the identification was mythologically improbable. There is certainly no such resemblance to the Hermes or other attested works of Praxiteles as to incline us to the artistic inference; and the meaning of the Roman inscription and its applicability are extremely doubtful.

are such as are unlikely at an earlier date; and, above all, the distinctly Alexandroid type of the head shows its approximate date. It is not a portrait of Alexander, but it has a strong resemblance to his features, such a resemblance as reminds us of other works of about the same age that have been brought into relation with him; for example, the Inopus of the Louvre.



FIG. 123.—Head from Eleusis, known as "Eubuleus" (Athens, National Museum)

The small eyes and sensual mouth suggest Alexander with the stronger and better parts of his character omitted; and, moreover, the head seems to have much of the nature of a portrait, and has more than once been identified as a portrait, though without convincing success. It is either some mythical person represented under the features of a man, or a man posing as a hero or god; and the man either had or affected to have a close

resemblance to Alexander, and cannot have lived long after his time. We cannot say more than this with any confidence; but the extraordinary delicacy and softness of the modelling, which is such as we see only in the finest Attic treatment of marble, cannot blind us to the unpleasing and unworthy nature of the subject represented. In spite of this drawback, however, the head is a most characteristic example of the idealising portraiture, or of the assimilation of an ideal subject to the features of an individual—we can hardly say which it is; but both alike are typical of the beginning of the Hellenistic age, when the decline of the religious conception of the gods was matched by a corresponding exaltation of men who seemed to have acquired almost divine power and attributes.

The two works which we have just considered must be assigned to the beginning of the Hellenistic age. One of them, indeed, the "Eubuleus," is claimed by some high authorities for the fourth century. We must conclude by a brief mention of some works which give us a notion of the versatile activity of the Pergamene school, of which we have already seen the chief monuments. One of them is a representation of the flaying of Marsyas, in which one of the more morbid of the Pergamene masters found a congenial subject. It had been represented before by the painter Zeuxis among others, and we possess reproductions of the group on sarcophagi and on other minor works of art, which show that the satyr was represented tied up to a tree, suspended by his arms, which are secured above his head. In front of him crouched a barbarian slave, sharpening the knife with which the cruel punishment was to be performed; and Apollo was probably represented as a spectator. We have already noticed scenes from the same myth in earlier sculpture among the works of Myron and Praxiteles. But the representation of its painful conclusion was reserved, at least in sculpture, for a Hellenistic artist. The actual flaying is not indeed portrayed; but its agony seems to be anticipated in the expression of the face and the whole body of the satyr Marsyas. His muscles seem not only horribly strained by his suspension, but also shrinking from the pain of the operation for which the slave is preparing his knife. The Marsyas exists in several copies, more than one in Florence; but in execution they are all surpassed by the statue of the crouching slave which is in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. This statue is

of the same marble as the replicas of the dedications of Attalus,¹ and has the same polished surface. It also shows the same skilful rendering of the barbarian figure which we saw in the Dying Gaul. It is these characteristics that make it most probable that we must assign the group to a Pergamene sculptor.

There is another set of works of playful and realistic *genre* which we may also assign to the Pergamene school. One of these is a bronze found at Pergamum, and now at Berlin. It represents a young satyr, who is hardly to be distinguished from a shepherd boy, who springs back and defends himself with his short club from the attack of some animal. The figure is full of life and action; alike in face and body we see that fulness, almost excess of expression, that the Pergamene artists affect. The choice of such a subject, which in its character reminds us of the idylls of Theocritus, once more shows us that love for wild and country life which we have already noticed as characteristic of the age. Another similar work is a statuette in marble, in the British Museum, of a boy drawing a thorn from his foot²—another touch of country life such as was dear to the art of such cities as Alexandria and Pergamon. In these works, as in the pastoral, we see an affectation of rustic simplicity which is a sure symptom of the artificiality of a decadent age.

§ 72. *Summary.*—The leading characteristics of the art of the Hellenistic age have shown themselves clearly in the various works of the period which have come before us. One of the chief influences at its beginning was the dominant personality of Alexander, which not only gave a new impulse to portrait sculpture in celebrating him and his successors, but actually affected the artistic type of the period, so that even gods were created after his image. The sculptor who was mainly employed by Alexander was Lysippus, and therefore it is not surprising to find him looked upon by many of the Hellenistic schools as their master, and to find his pupils directing the activity of Greek art in the new centres it had found in the East. But Scopas had been before him in Asia Minor, and his power of

¹ See p. 458.

² It is a matter of dispute whether the famous bronze boy of the Capitol, the Spinario, is an early version of this same subject, or a late archaistic modification of a theme invented in the Hellenistic period.

expression and of pathos was likely to impress the sculptors of later time, and to excite their emulation. We have seen in the art of Pergamum, and of the later schools dependent upon Pergamum, the dramatic and sensational development of which Hellenistic sculpture was capable.

We have noticed the craving for an artificial simplicity which was the natural result of the crowding of the population into great cities like Alexandria, and the expression which that craving found in art as well as in literature. Following the bent of pastoral poetry, sculpture also represented the scenes and the characters of country life, sometimes actual fishermen and shepherds, sometimes satyrs, who are no longer the personal attendants of Dionysus, but mere personifications of country life, sharing the character of the rude and simple peasants among whom they are imagined to live. Children, too, are represented with truth to nature, and even the gods are sometimes represented in childish form.

It is above all in the conception of the function of art that the Hellenistic age differs from the earlier periods. Sculpture is no longer mainly concerned, as in the fifth century, with the embodiment of the sublimest ideals of the gods, nor even with their more human and personal characterisations as in the fourth century. The types of the chief deities have, so to speak, become stereotyped and conventional, and the artist can only add colossal size or brilliancy of execution to the attainments of his predecessors. It is partly due to this fact, partly to the employment of art almost exclusively in the service of the kings of those regions into which the empire of Alexander was divided, that a desire for what was magnificent and imposing almost superseded the need for artistic expression of the ideas of the sculptor or of the people. Great works like the Colossus of Rhodes and the Pergamene altar ranked among the wonders of the world, and by that very fact satisfied to a great extent the aim of those who had erected them.

An age of decadence is often an age of study and criticism, and the Hellenistic period is perhaps the most conspicuous example of this tendency. The study of nature in detail, of botany and zoology and anatomy, has left many traces in Hellenistic sculpture. The great libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum were the chief centres of intellectual activity; and a study and criticism of earlier sculpture came to have an

excessive influence on the art of the day. Of course in earlier times each school had had its tradition, and its succession of masters and pupils; and the chief schools had also acted and reacted upon one another, especially during the times of the greatest activity. But we now for the first time find the details and mannerisms of earlier artists studied and imitated; and this, combined with the academic study of anatomy and of the model, gives a lack of spontaneity and freshness to most of the chief monumental works of the time, in spite of their dramatic power and imposing effect. In smaller works, on the other hand, we often find a freshness and humour that remind us of the poems of Theocritus. But throughout we feel that the sculptor chooses the subject for the sake of its effect, and its scope for exhibiting his own skill or fancy. He is rarely inspired with a great idea, which it is his aim to embody; and even when the result is a work so beautiful as the Aphrodite of Melos, it is not the spontaneous growth of the sculptor's own period and personality, but is due to his devotion to the types and ideals of a greater age.

Nevertheless, the great works of the Hellenistic age, and especially those which belong to the Pergamene school, are the products of a living art, full of vigour and force. We hear but little of Greece itself during this period; and when the sculptors of Athens again become prominent, they but confirm the impression that all the strength and originality of the Greek genius had followed Alexander in the spread of Hellenism over the Eastern world.

CHAPTER VI

GRAECO-ROMAN AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

§ 73. *Historical and Social Changes.*—So far we have been concerned with the history of sculpture, if not in Greece itself, at least among people of Greek nationality and civilisation. When Hellenic art, as well as Hellenic language and literature, followed the conquests of Alexander to the East, it did not change its essential nature; and it was the pride alike of patron and of sculptor to claim Greek birth and nationality, and to trace a direct succession from the highest period of Hellenic art. There are indeed some apparent exceptions—notably in the case of the sarcophagi found at Sidon, where Greek artists must have been employed by princes of a foreign dynasty; but those princes appear to have left the sculptors a free hand, and to have been the better pleased the more closely the work resembled what was made among the Greeks themselves.

It is true that Hellenism spread to the West as well as to the East, but it was under different conditions. Alexander was of Greek race, and posed as the champion of Hellenism; so that the influence of Greece upon the East came with all the prestige of a system imposed by a conqueror upon his subjects; and although it found a ready acceptance, and was assimilated with enthusiasm by its new devotees, it did not forget the pride of its origin. But Greek influence on Rome was the reaction of a conquered people upon its conquerors, and was never free from the tinge of dependence and contempt to which such a relation naturally gave rise. It is a trite saying—

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit;

but neither conqueror nor conquered forgot their political and

social position. Of course there were men of finer taste and higher culture in Rome, by whom the literature and art of Greece were estimated at their true value. But, in the main, the Roman regarded the artistic and intellectual attainments of Greece as things either to be despised or at most to be patronised as an ornamental addition to the luxuries of life. The tone of even so refined and cultured a poet as Virgil is not to be mistaken :—

Exudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus ;
Orabunt caussas melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent :
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;
Hae tibi erunt artes ; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.

Macaulay's cruder expression of the same sentiment—

Leave to the Greek his marble nymphs
And scrolls of wordy lore—

probably represents fairly enough the feelings of the average Roman upon the matter. But the Roman populace demanded that the arts of Greece should be made a show in its triumphs, just as it demanded wild beasts from Africa, or gold and silver treasures from Asia. And Roman amateurs also came to affect a taste for Greek statues and other works of art, such as was sure to create a supply to meet the demand. The record of Greek art under such conditions cannot but be painful and humiliating, and here we will be content with the merest sketch of its later activity.

Rome, indeed, is not without sculpture of its own, which, though dependent upon Greece for its technical expression, is national in character ; this is historical sculpture, and its products are of two kinds—the portraits of men whose features are worth recording because of the personality they represent, and reliefs which record the exploits of Roman emperors, their campaigns, and the people against whom they fought, with an accuracy that makes them invaluable to the historian and the ethnologist. But here it is the subject rather than its artistic treatment that interests us. Reliefs like those of Trajan's column rank, from the point of view of sculpture, with the wall reliefs of Assyrian palaces ; and both alike are outside the domain of Greek sculpture, which is our present theme.

Graeco-Roman sculpture, in the stricter sense of the word, is interesting to us mainly because it was the medium through which much of the art of Greece was transmitted to the Renaissance, and also because we ourselves, though to a less degree than our predecessors, are dependent upon it for our knowledge of the originals which it imitates or reproduces.

§ 74. *The Carrying off of Masterpieces.*—The first material result of the conquest of Greece by Rome, so far as sculpture is concerned, affected the great works of the artists of earlier periods rather than the art of the day, and those who were employed in its practice. The first Greek cities to suffer the loss of their artistic treasures, carried off as plunder to decorate the triumph of a victorious Roman general and then to be set up by him at Rome, were those of Southern Italy and Sicily. When Syracuse and Capua and Tarentum fell into the hands of Rome, though Hannibal was still in Italy, the terror of his victories was waning; and, in the confidence of ultimate success, the Romans began to decorate their city with the spoils of the Greek colonies. The great Roman victories that soon followed in Macedonia and in Asia Minor each added to the artistic plunder, and a whole day in the triumph of the general was given to the mere procession of captured statues. It is said that M. Fulvius Nobilior carried off from Ambracia no less than 785 statues in bronze and 230 in marble; and these had doubtless been already accumulated there by Pyrrhus. The triumphs of Flamininus, of Scipio Asiaticus, and of Aemilius Paulus were as rich in sculpture. But so far Greece itself was, at least by a political fiction, regarded as independent, and its central shrines were spared. A new epoch begins with the sack of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C., and the reduction of Greece to a Roman province. From this time forward even the most sacred centres of Greek religion—Athens and Olympia and Delphi—were not only open to plunder by generals like Sulla, who respected no place or person, but also to the more quiet and gradual robbery of Roman proconsuls, who carried off the most famous works of Greek masters, either to enrich their own private collections, or to set up in public buildings at Rome, and so to win the favour of the people. The extent to which this practice was carried is sufficiently attested by Cicero's Verrine orations. In Imperial times the shrines of Greece were again and again denuded of their choicest treasures: no statue

was spared for its sanctity or for the difficulty of its transport. Caligula is said to have attempted to move even the colossal Olympian Zeus of Phidias, though portents prevented the completion of the work. It is true that occasionally a statue was sent back to its own place by the compunction of an emperor for the rapacity of his predecessors ; but these few exceptions made no appreciable difference to the steady influx of masterpieces from Greece to Rome. Nero is said to have carried off 500 bronze statues from Delphi alone. In the great fire at Rome countless works of art must have perished ; and he sent envoys to ransack Greece in order to fill up the gaps. After all these depredations, it is astonishing to find how much was still left for the traveller to see in the days of Pausanias.

With the foundation of Constantinople there was a yet further drain on the apparently inexhaustible resources of Greece. Not only were numerous statues transferred from Rome to the new capital of the world, but works like the great bronze Athena of Phidias at Athens, and, according to some accounts, his Olympian Zeus, were carried off to Constantinople, there to await their final destruction at the hands of ignorant mobs or barbarian conquerors.

§ 75. *Centres of Art and Migration of Artists.*—We have already followed the developments of the local schools of Asia Minor, mainly dependent upon Pergamum, even beyond the strict chronological limits of the period to which we assigned them upon artistic grounds. The sculptors of these schools, however, were mainly devoted to working for those among whom they lived ; and if their works found their way to Rome, it was mostly as a result of the same system of plunder that carried away the statues made by earlier masters. They did not lay themselves out to meet the demands of the Roman market. In Greece, and especially in Athens, it was otherwise. We have already noticed the absence of any original work of merit or interest in Greece during the Hellenistic age, and so we are prepared to find the artists of Athens ready to turn their skill to the service of their new masters, and to supply either copies of well-known works of art, or new statues of a more or less conventional and imitative character. Such statues were required to furnish the galleries and villas and gardens which were considered necessary by a rich Roman who had any pretension to taste or culture. And it was natural that sculptors

working under such conditions should also transfer themselves and their studios to the place where they found the best market for their wares. We accordingly find many Greek sculptors, especially of Attic origin, working in Italy and in Rome. Their signatures are found upon works of sculpture which, in some cases, we can identify as copies of earlier works by known masters; and to their name is usually added the adjective *Ἀθηναῖος*, which suffices to show that they were working away from their home.¹ And the only schools of sculpture in which we notice any coherence or growth of tradition are those which flourished in Rome itself, to supply, both for public dedications and for the collections of amateurs, the examples of Greek art which were indispensable.

Though the extant statues of Roman period are for the most part signed by Attic artists, they are not to be taken as representing exclusively a continuation of the Attic school of sculpture. The fact is that in art, as in dialect, there was by this time established a *κοινή*—a stock of types and traditions which were regarded as the common property of all sculptors, irrespective of their origin; and if an Athenian received a commission from a Roman amateur, he was just as ready to reproduce a work of Lysippus as of Praxiteles. And we may expect him, if a faithful copyist, to introduce less of his own Attic training into his work than we should expect to find at an earlier period. Of course every case must be judged separately, and we must allow for the modifications introduced by the copyist in the original. But the mere assertion of nationality in a sculptor's inscription need not in itself count for very much, and certainly does not imply that he regards the statue on which it occurs as a specimen of Attic workmanship.

§ 76. *Statues of the Gods*.—The galleries of all the museums of Europe are full of statues of the gods, of the most various degrees of excellence in execution; and the great majority of these were made by late Greek sculptors to meet the Roman demand. Most of them are merely variations upon a limited number of well-known and conventional types. Some are doubtless direct copies from earlier originals; such copies can in some cases be recognised, but more often we have no data to

¹ The artist's signature in these cases is usually on some part of the statue itself, not on the basis. This implies that the artist merely supplied the work, and did not superintend its erection.

help us in their identification. Many are not so much copies from any one well-known original as reproductions of the established type of some deity; and though this type may have been originated by one of the great sculptors of the fifth or fourth century, it has been repeated so frequently and with such freedom of modification that it is hard to say exactly what belongs to the original conception. The type, in fact, has become common property; and when a sculptor of Graeco-Roman period made a Zeus or an Aphrodite, we cannot consider him as copying the work of Phidias or Praxiteles, although those masters had contributed in the highest degree to the formation of the type on which their successors worked with more or less ingenuity of variation.

Now that most of the original masterpieces of Greek sculpture are lost, and cannot even be identified with certainty in direct copies, the work of Graeco-Roman artists is chiefly of value to us because it reflects, however indirectly, the conceptions of an earlier age. Inferences from later works as to the earlier from which they were derived, where there is no direct external evidence to serve as a clue, offer a fascinating scope for study and conjecture; but with such we are not here concerned. To wander through a gallery of statues, and to gather from a number of later productions and variations the character of the original from which they are derived, requires a memory and a faculty for generalisation such as few possess, and even those few cannot exercise without long and patient study. All that we can do now is to notice one or two of the more conspicuous examples which preserve to us the form recognised in later art as appropriate to one or another deity.

The bust, or rather mask,¹ found at Otricoli, is the finest example we possess of the normal Greek conception of the head of Zeus. It is of Carrara marble, and so is doubtless the work of a Greek sculptor resident in Italy; and even if it be a direct copy from an earlier original, that original cannot be earlier than the Hellenistic age. Though it is most impressive in its majesty and dignity, it lacks the breadth and simplicity of the great age of Greece; the modelling is emphasised in all details, and, above all, the heavy overhanging mass of the mane-like hair is not such as we should find before the days of

¹ The back of the head is cut away, and it is intended to be seen from the front only.

Lysippus. It gives to the god a certain leonine aspect which reminds us of Alexander, and is, indeed, derived from him. We can see the transformation from the earlier and simpler type actually in process on the coins of the beginning of the Hellenistic age. When we turn to the Zeus of Otricoli, we can recognise in it every feature that we expect in the King and Father of gods and men, the expression of energy and benignity; and the skill of the artist in rendering them compels our admiration. Yet there is a certain restlessness and lack of repose about the face; it shows energy rather than power; and when we compare it even with the inadequate representations on coins of the Olympian Zeus, we can see how far it is from the ideal of Phidias, with its severe and divine calm.

Another conception which, though it does not start upon so high a level, has sunk much lower in Graeco-Roman art, is that of Aphrodite. The Zeus of Otricoli, whatever be its defects, has preserved the majesty and grandeur that befit a god. But we can hardly say as much of the numerous statues of Aphrodite that reflect with more or less variation the great Cnidian statue of Praxiteles. The best known, and perhaps the most typical, is the "Venus dei Medici" at Florence (Fig. 124).¹ The motive of the Cnidian statue, which is but delicately hinted in the work of Praxiteles, is differently treated in these later modifications. Praxiteles had represented the goddess as preparing for the bath, with a gesture of almost unconscious modesty at the unveiling of her beauty. There is nothing unconscious about the gesture of the Venus dei Medici; it is an affected coquetry, and gives us the impression that it is assumed rather to attract the gaze of the spectator than in any modest desire to veil her charms. And it is in accordance with this effect that while the eyes of the Praxitelean goddess are dreamy and vague, as those of one who is alone and is lost in a soft reverie, the eyes of the Medicean figure are directed upon a certain spot, doubtless upon the spectator, of whose gaze she is conscious. Nevertheless we must not ignore the high merit of the work in its own sphere. The modelling is exquisitely soft; the form is one of great physical beauty; and if it has not the breadth and grandeur that we might expect in a goddess, it certainly represents a woman of the most perfect proportions and the most graceful

¹ The artist's signature on this statue, Cleomenes son of Cleomenes of Athens, is now generally admitted to be a forgery of the seventeenth century.



FIG. 124.—Venus dei Medici (Florence, Uffizi).

contour. It is neither a mere study from a beautiful model, nor a conventional and academic reproduction of a normal type, but shows us what a Greek sculptor could do, even at so late a period, to rise above the individual to the creation of an ideal type, without losing touch with nature in a lifeless conventionality. His ideal was not a high one; but he is successful in its attainment.

§ 77. *Works of the Neo-Attic School.*—We have already noticed the preponderance of Attic artists among those who worked, whether in Greece or Italy, for Roman patrons. A description of some of the sculpture which is certainly to be assigned to such artists, on the authority of inscriptions or other clear evidence, will show the varied nature of the work they undertook. They are usually classed together by the convenient name of the Neo-Attic school; and their activity is sometimes described as “the Attic renaissance,” a title hardly deserved by a movement so limited in its aims and so imitative in its character.

The first work with which we have to deal may surprise us for the moment. The Farnese Hercules (Fig. 125) is obviously a copy of a Lysippean original,¹ though full of the exaggeration which is the chief fault of the later schools which are derived from the art of Lysippus. We have seen that the conception of Heracles as a man tired of his superhuman task, and resting a little from his labours as if in weariness, almost in depression, was due to Lysippus. Here we see a variation on the theme: the hero is not seated, but standing; he leans heavily on his club, covered with the lion skin; in his right hand² he holds behind his back the apples of the Hesperides, which testify to the completion of one of his labours. But the sculptor, in his attempt to portray the superhuman strength of the hero, has simply given to all his muscles of body and limbs a heaviness and clumsiness that are little short of grotesque; they suggest the “strong man” of a show rather than the chief of Greek heroes. Although the pathos of the Lysippean conception is not entirely lost, the execution goes far towards destroying its effect.

¹ Another copy of the same work has the inscription *Αντίππου ἔργον*: but this inscription is a modern forgery. The type appears in the Telephos group on the smaller frieze of the altar at Pergamum; but that also is borrowed from an earlier statue, which is reproduced on coins as early as 300 B.C. See Friederichs-Wolters, No. 1265, where further references are given.

² The right arm is a restoration, but probably a correct one.

On the rock below the club is an inscription, recording as the sculptor Glycon the Athenian: it is in characters which probably belong to an early date in the Imperial epoch. Thus we have an indication of the weight we must attach to such signatures, of which we shall come across other examples. We have seen that the type of the statue is a well-known one, and that it did not originate in Athens; the signature of the Attic sculptor simply means that he is responsible for this particular copy, in which he has emphasised the external signs of bodily strength, probably to suit the demand of his patrons for what they could at once recognise as a typical Heracles. The result is creditable neither to them nor to the artist.

Another work which will serve as an example of the same school of sculpture is the famous Torso Belvedere of the Vatican, signed by Apollonius son of Nestor, an Athenian. Here again modern criticism is at variance with the admiration with which the statue was regarded by Winkelmann and his followers, because we now judge such works by a different standard. It represents a man whose powerful build and finely developed muscles are rendered with wonderful skill; he is seated upon a rock, and turns the upper part of his body to his left in a way that affords excellent scope for the sculptor to show his knowledge of the human form. Various restorations of the statue have been proposed. It was usually supposed to represent Heracles resting from his labours, and either holding out a wine-cup or playing the lyre; recently it has been maintained with much probability that the statue should be restored as the Cyclops Polyphemus,¹ with one hand raised to shade his eyes as he looks out across the sea, perhaps to look for his beloved Galatea. If so we have a subject characteristic of Hellenistic art; in any case the original from which the statue is derived is probably later than the time of Lysippus. Of the actual workmanship of Apollonius it may well seem presumptuous to say anything in disparagement, when we remember that the torso is said to have excited the admiration of Michael Angelo, and that Winckelmann saw in its absence of veins an intention to represent the deified Heracles, with body etherialised. We shall rather see here a conventional and academic representation of the human form, for which the copyist alone is responsible; of the original we may get some notion from the

¹ Sauer, *Torso von Belvedere*.



FIG. 125.—Farnese Heracles, by Glycon (Naples).

Pergamene treatment of kindred subjects. Yet Apollonius has preserved enough of the merit of his original to make his statue seem filled with life and vigour, when compared with the more ordinary specimens of Graeco-Roman art.

There is a whole class of imitative reliefs proceeding from the same Neo-Attic school; one of them, which is signed by Sosibius of Athens, will suffice to show us the character of all.¹



FIG. 126.—Marble Vase with relief by Sosibius (Louvre). After Bouillon III.
Vases et Urnes, Pl. 8.

It is a marble vase, now in the Louvre, with a rich and delicate decoration that reminds us of the sarcophagi from Sidon, partly of architectural ornaments, partly of carved wreaths. Round the vase is a row of figures which show the strangest medley of types collected from the most various periods and styles of art. It appears to be useless to seek any explanation of the subject, which merely represents a series of figures advancing from

¹ A complete and thorough study of these reliefs has been made by Hauser, *die Neu-attische Reliefs*.

either side towards an altar, some walking, some in dancing step. The first figure on the left is Artemis, with bow and stag as conventional attributes; the stiffness and zig-zag folds of her drapery betray archaistic imitation; but she has both feet planted firmly on the ground, the left advanced, and so looks like a copy from a really early statue. She is followed by Apollo playing the lyre, in a tolerably free style, with only one or two touches of convention; and behind him is a satyr dancing and playing the flute, and poised on tip-toe—a figure impossible before the fourth century. On the other side of the altar the front figure is Hermes—the most stiff and conventional of all, with the usual archaistic tricks of the walk on tip-toe, the curved zig-zag ends of drapery, and a short caduceus held up between finger and thumb. Behind him, in strange contrast, comes a raving maenad, with a sword and half of a kid she has slain, an ecstatic dancing figure, with rich folds of drapery, dating originally from the epoch of Scopas and Praxiteles. She is followed by a Pyrrhic dancer, nude, with sword and shield, like those on Attic votive reliefs. On the side opposite the altar are two more dancing figures in rich drapery, of a familiar type. Though so great a mixture as this is exceptional, the character of the work of Sosibius is that of all these Neo-Attic reliefs. They have a certain limited repertoire of figures, which are repeated again and again on different reliefs, in various permutations and combinations, sometimes appropriate, sometimes inappropriate. The skill of the artist consists merely in the use he makes of this stereotyped material, and the decorative effect he produces by its arrangement. However graceful the result may sometimes be, it is of little interest for the history of sculpture except to show how mechanical the repetition of the well-worn types had become. When such was the case in relief, we need not be surprised to find something of the same wearisome monotony in free sculpture also.

§ 78. *Arcesilaus*.—Among the Greek sculptors working in Rome about the middle of the first century B.C., *Arcesilaus* is the most conspicuous. He was much admired by the antiquarian Varro, to whom we probably owe a good deal of our information about Greek art. Our chief interest in *Arcesilaus* lies in the fact that he made a statue of *Venus Genetrix* for the Forum of Julius Caesar. This statue was adopted as the embodiment of *Venus*, as patron goddess of Rome, and ancestress of the Julian

family—Aeneadum genetrix, as Lucretius calls her. A statue of Venus, with the superscription *Veneri Genetrici*, occurs



FIG. 127.—Venus Genetrix, probably after Arcesilaus (Louvre).

upon more than one series of Imperial coins, and it is natural to recognise upon these coins a copy of the work of Arcesilaus.

The difficulty is that the figure varies upon different coins; but upon some of them is a statue similar to one of which several copies exist in our museums (Fig. 127). The goddess is clad in a long transparent chiton, on her left shoulder it has slipped down, leaving the breast bare; a short mantle hangs over her left arm, and with her right she holds the other end of it over her right shoulder; in her left hand she holds the apple awarded to her when she was victorious at the contest of beauty decided by the judgment of Paris. The statue is a remarkable study of the forms of the body and limbs as seen through clinging, transparent drapery. Everything is in favour of the attribution of this statue to Arcesilaus. His fame among Roman amateurs, and the popularity of the subject in Imperial Rome, suffice to explain the number of the copies that have been discovered. And the work itself, with its affected pose, and its elaborate study of clinging drapery, is just what we should expect from a sculptor like Arcesilaus, who was renowned for his technical skill and his delicate fancy. The attribution is confirmed when we notice the resemblance of the figure to the Electra grouped with Orestes (Fig. 128), especially in the pose of the legs and the arrangement of the transparent drapery over them and on the left arm, and the straight folds falling between the knees and outside the left hip. For this group of Electra and Orestes comes from the school of Pasiteles, a sculptor who was, as we shall see, a contemporary of Arcesilaus, and the representative of the same artistic tendencies.

This brings us to the question whether the Venus Genetrix of Arcesilaus was, like several of the works of the school of Pasiteles, a reproduction of some statue by an earlier master. There seems to be little doubt that the type, in its general character, dates from an earlier age, though we cannot identify with certainty the original from which it is derived.¹ However this may be, the execution of the work may be taken as characteristic of Greek sculpture in Rome, with its imitation of earlier models, and the delicate affectation with which it transforms them to suit the taste of the day.

Arcesilaus also made a fanciful group, representing a lioness

¹ The Aphrodite in the Gardens by Alcamenes has been suggested, but there is not sufficient evidence for the identification. Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Mythologie*, p. 413, accepts it, and also admits the probability that Arcesilaus adopted the type originated by Alcamenes.

in marble, with whom winged cupids were playing, some holding her captive, while others made her drink from a horn, and others put boots on her feet. Such themes of playful *genre* are common enough in Pompeian paintings and mosaics. In sculpture they seem less appropriate, and their translation into marble is probably to be regarded as a *tour de force* on the part of the sculptor. He also made groups of nymphs riding on Centaurs, another subject familiar from Pompeian paintings; we shall meet with a repetition of a similar subject in the time of Hadrian, but we have no evidence as to how it was treated by Arcesilaus. The only other fact we know about him is that he made models in clay or plaster (*proplasmata*), which were bought by artists at a higher price than the finished works of others, and that he supplied a plaster model for a vase for which he charged a talent. This shows, in the first place, that he undertook the design of decorative work, like Sosibius; but it also shows that the art of sculpture had sunk to a low ebb, since one of its chief masters contented himself with making a model, and took no further care about its execution whether in marble or in bronze. When we contrast this with the care with which the surface of the statue, in its final form, was finished by earlier sculptors, we realise that Greek sculpture in Rome had degenerated into a mere commercial pursuit.

§ 79. *Pasiteles and his School*.—Pasiteles was a contemporary of Arcesilaus. He was an Italian Greek, and obtained Roman citizenship when it was given to the other inhabitants of Italy after the social war, in 87 B.C. He was a most versatile artist: we hear of works from his hand in silver and in gold, and ivory, as well as more ordinary materials; and he is said to have possessed consummate skill in all these branches of sculpture. It is clear, therefore, that he was not content to simply make a clay model for others to execute, although he declared the art of modelling in clay to be the mother of all kinds of sculpture, whether in the precious metals, in bronze, or in marble; and he is said never to have worked free-hand, without a complete model before him. He is also one of the writers whom Pliny quotes as his authorities for the history of art. Though he was prolific as well as versatile, Pliny cannot tell the names of many of his works; one of those recorded is an ivory statue of Jupiter, which stood in a temple erected by Metellus. We must probably recognise in this an attempt on

the part of Pasiteles to imitate the materials as well as the style of the great chryselephantine statues of the fifth century. Another of his works was in silver, and represented Roscius, the great actor, as a young child, with a snake coiled about him. This representation of an early incident in the actor's life reminds us of the skill in silver work and in the representation of children that characterised Boethus.

We are, however, mainly dependent upon the works of his pupils for our knowledge of the artistic character of Pasiteles. He founded a school which lasted through at least two generations, since we have works signed both by Stephanus, who calls himself in the inscription a pupil of Pasiteles, and by Menelaus, who calls himself the pupil of Stephanus. Such forms of signature imply an organised and well-known school; but even without them the uniformity in style and character of a certain class of works which dates from the early Imperial period would suffice to show that such a school existed. Its products consist chiefly of a set of statues which reproduce, in all probability, certain works of the fifth century that are now lost; but they are not ordinary copies; for they all show a certain mannerism and affectation in style, and a certain system of proportion, which must be attributed to the sculptors who actually made them, rather than to the originals in imitation of which they were made. They have a squareness of shoulders which recalls Polyclitus, joined to a slimness of body and limbs which resembles the canon of Lysippus; and, in general, they give us an impression of eclectic art. The sculptor has neither worked directly from nature nor followed the tradition of any one earlier school, but has combined such features as pleased him in various early works to form a new convention for himself. The face, too, with its eyes set in too shallow sockets, and the meaningless imitation of an archaic smile, is a recollection of various specimens of transitional works rather than a close imitation of any one style. But apart from these mannerisms we may recognise a more direct imitation of a particular school in a male figure like that signed by Stephanus, which reappears combined with a similar female figure in a group of Pasitelean style (Fig. 128). When we compare this figure with the bronze found at Ligourio (Vol. I., fig. 39), the resemblance of the two, both in pose and in general character, is striking, in spite of the affected mannerisms which we have already noticed as char-

acteristic of the school of Pasiteles. When these mannerisms are, so far as possible, eliminated in our imagination, we realise that the figure which supplied the type of which Stephanus has given us a Pasitelean version must have been very like this small bronze. Since the bronze is, as we have seen,¹ a characteristic product of the Argive school of the earlier part of the fifth century, the time of Ageladas, it seems a fair inference that the Pasitelean sculptors who made these works were consciously imitating the statues of Ageladas and his associates, though they introduced into them much that was foreign to the severe simplicity and strength of the early Argive school.

The figure above quoted as closely resembling that made by Stephanus is repeated in conjunction with a female figure to form the group now at Naples, and commonly known as Orestes and Electra (Fig. 128). The interpretation is probably correct. The relation of the two figures is clearly that of affection such as that of an elder sister and a younger brother; and the raggedness of Electra's garment fits her neglect and poverty as described by the dramatists. But it is clear that, whatever was the meaning of the sculptor in this group, it cannot be regarded as an original work, except in the same sense in which a decorative composition like that of Sosibius is original; for one of the figures at least is a mere repetition of a type already familiar. The female figure may or may not be an original conception. Its resemblance to the Venus Genetrix, probably made by Arcesilaus, has already been noticed, but it is less graceful and less skilful in design; it has the same mannerisms as the nude figure of which it is a feminine counterpart; and the way in which the left breast is seen through a hole in her garment contrasts with the same effect, as attained by a simpler and more natural treatment, in the Venus Genetrix; there is a contrast, too, between the naturalistic touches in the drapery on the upper part of the body with the conventional treatment of its lower portion. There is no spontaneity about the work, whether in design or in execution. All that it can claim is a certain skill in the adaptation and combination of certain given types. It is interesting to compare this group with another, representing the same subject, by Menelaus, the scholar of

¹ P. 197. Furtwängler, *50th Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin.



FIG. 128.—Orestes and Electra, Pasitellean group (Naples).

Stephanus.¹ His work is translated from Greek into Roman surroundings, both in figures and in drapery, and so has much more claim to originality of work; yet it is merely a variation on the same theme, and testifies again, though in a different way, to poverty of invention.

It would be easy to multiply examples of Pasitelean figures. Some have been found even in Greece itself, and the influence and fame of Pasiteles were evidently very great. But what we have already noticed will suffice to give us a notion of the character of his school, and of the strict limits within which its work was confined. Pasiteles himself may have been a master of more originality, but it is hardly to be supposed that his own work differed in its essential nature from that of his pupils.

§ 80. *Portraiture*.—The study of Roman portraiture is interesting, both for its own sake and for the light which it throws upon history by its vivid portrayal of the features and the characters of those it represents. Iconography, however, is a subject for separate treatment, and it would be impossible here even to consider its more general aspects. But even in a history of Greek art it cannot be entirely omitted; for Roman portraiture is in many ways only a continuation of the portraiture of the Hellenistic age in Greece, though there are certain elements of realism in it which may claim a more or less independent origin. The continuity is most obvious when we compare the coins made by Greek die-cutters of the Hellenistic age² for Eastern princes with the portraits which appear on Roman Republican and Imperial coins.³ In both classes we see the same skill in catching the individual likeness, which sometimes almost approaches caricature in its lifelike expression. And what is true of coins is doubtless, in the main, true of sculpture also. But we must not ignore another factor which counts for something in Roman portraiture. It was the custom in all Roman families of rank to preserve a series of waxen masks representing the ancestors of the house; these were made as lifelike as possible, being coloured in imitation of nature; and at the funeral of any member of the family the masks were actually worn by men who personated the ancestors

¹ Baumeister, Fig. 1393.

² See P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xiii. 33-35; xiv. 29, 32.

³ These may be found under the various names in Baumeister. For a collection see Imhoof-Blumer, *Portraitköpfe auf Römischen Münzen*.

of the deceased. We do not know whether these wax masks were actually moulded from the faces of those they represented; but they cannot have been mere death-masks. Such things would have been too ghastly for the purpose; we may, however, suppose that the custom attributed to Lysistratus, of taking a wax impression from a mould made on the face of his subject, and then working on the wax, would commend itself to the Romans, whose chief object was to have as exact a presentment as possible of the features of their ancestors. Every house of any pretension to nobility and fame had a whole gallery of these masks, which were kept in shrines like frames; and such collections cannot have failed to influence portraiture when it began to be practised in more durable materials. The close study of individual characteristics and the realistic style of some Hellenistic sculptors would recommend itself to people accustomed to the life-like masks.

Honorary statues appear to have been set up in Rome from early times. Varro¹ quotes, in corroboration of his statement that barbers were first introduced into Rome in 300 B.C., the fact that statues earlier than that date are bearded and have long hair. It is a significant fact that perhaps the first historical record of an honorary statue refers to the Greek Hermodorus, who helped the Decemvirs in their legislation. From the fifth century B.C., honorary statues to distinguished Romans are not uncommon; but this is no proof of an indigenous art, since in the Greek colonies of Italy there was no dearth of sculptors who could supply the Roman demand, and to them we must probably attribute all statues of distinguished Romans which have come down to us from Republican times. The portrait of Julius Caesar in the British Museum (Fig. 129) will serve as a specimen of the portraiture of Rome at the end of the Republic. It shows us the man as he lived, his features and expression rendered with the most unsparing realism, no detail softened, if it could add to the individuality of the portrait, and it shows in its lean and expressive features the wear and waste due to a restless and fiery genius. If we contrast this face with that of Pericles and with that of Alexander, we see the difference not only between the men, but also between the art that portrayed them. Pericles is almost an ideal abstraction, representing the calm and moderation of the statesman and leader. In Alexander

¹ *R. R.* ii. 11, 10.

there is more individuality, but it is tempered with an idealism which raised him above mortality, and gives to his face the character of one whose career was too astonishing to be due to mere human aims or means. But in Caesar the sculptor has portrayed the conqueror who owed his success to his own consummate genius, which was too strong for the human frame

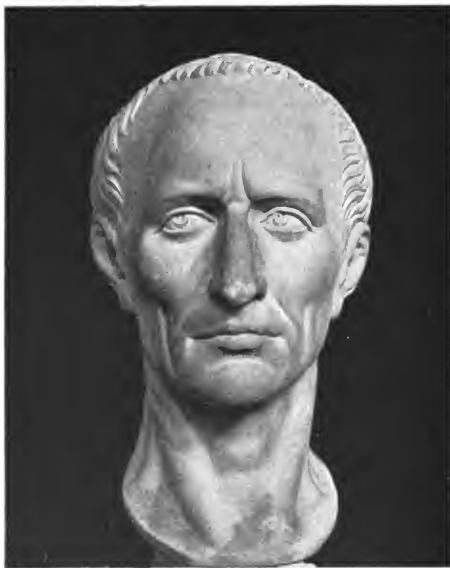


FIG. 129.—Portrait of Julius Caesar (British Museum).

that it wasted and consumed in its service. It is the man himself that the sculptor brings before us. This criticism implies that, viewed merely as portraiture, the work of the Roman sculptor—or rather of the Greek sculptor working for Romans—fulfils its object the most completely. But, for that very reason, it is of the less importance for the history of sculpture. Though it is a more valuable document for the

character of the man it represents, it does not show in the same way the impression he produced upon his contemporaries. The portraits of Pericles and of Alexander embody a conception of wider and more lasting influence than the individual traits of the man they represent; and there are other portraits of Caesar himself which seem more adequate to represent a name that has become synonymous with empire.

At the end of the Republican period, and in Imperial times, portrait statues usually belonged to one of two classes; they were either *effigies togatae*—that is to say, they represented men in the usual garb of civil life—or *statuae Achilleae*—fancy portraits in a conventional heroic pose, usually nude, and holding a spear.¹ Examples of both kinds are to be seen in our museums. The heroic convention was sometimes carried even further, and Roman men or matrons were represented in the character of gods. This practice was especially common in the case of members of the Imperial family. An example is the statue known as Germanicus, which represents a Roman, probably an ambassador, in the act of speaking, with his right arm raised. He is nude, and has the attributes of Hermes, the god of ambassadors. This statue is also valuable for its signature by Cleomenes of Athens, and shows the nationality of at least one of the artists employed upon this kind of sculpture. The convention of the nudity is the more remarkable, as the statue is a very fine portrait. In Imperial times it was usual to represent the emperors in gorgeously ornamented breast-plates, which offered considerable scope for decoration and allegorical design. Most statues, especially those of women, follow the fashion of the day in hair and other details, and some even have movable wigs, of the same material as the statue. The character and even the features of the reigning emperor and empress are often reflected in contemporary portraits of other persons, so that it is often possible to date them by this resemblance. Such a change as the custom of allowing the beard to grow, under the Antonine emperors, is one of the most obvious criteria.

The freaks of emperors like Nero or Domitian, who caused their own heads to be set upon statues of the gods, colossal and others, are but an extreme example of the common practice of making use of old statues with a new application. Sometimes

¹ Overbeck, *S. Q.* 2350.

the statues were left as they were, sometimes they were altered to suit the new conditions. Many works of Greek sculpture owed their destruction to this practice.

§ 81. *Historical Monuments.*—The magnificent series of historical reliefs in Rome, which record the exploits and the administration of various emperors, from Augustus to Constantine, are in the first place of the highest value as historical documents. They also teach us much about the life and institutions not only of the Romans themselves, but also of the various peoples with whom they come in contact during this period. We depend on Roman reliefs for our knowledge alike of an object like the Golden Candlestick of Jerusalem, and of the dress, houses, and customs of the people of Dacia. Here, however, we are concerned only with the artistic side of these representations, and even that to a limited degree. For these historical monuments have considerable claim to be regarded as the products of a national Roman art, and although Greek influence must count for something in their execution, their subjects and designs are really outside the sphere of a study of Greek sculpture.

Roman historical monuments fall also under the class of architectural sculpture; but there is a difference from most of the examples of architectural sculpture which we have noticed in Greece. Most of those were intended to decorate the exterior or interior of some temple or other building, and were subservient to its architectural purpose and design. But in the Roman monuments, which were set up to record great events, whether of peace or war, the sculpture was at least as important as its architectural frame. They were not designed for any purpose of use or worship, but were merely set up in Rome or elsewhere as memorials of those by whom they were erected. Their most conspicuous forms were the triumphal arch and the huge single column, surrounded with a spiral band of sculpture and surmounted by a statue. The finest of all is the column of Trajan, which records all the details of his campaigns against the Dacians. It is an invaluable document for the historian, the student of Roman antiquities, and the ethnologist. The sculptors employed shrink from nothing in their representation, whether it be the building and crossing of a bridge, the construction of fortified posts, the attack and defence of towns and stockades, or any other incident of the campaign. But there

is no artistic composition ; scene succeeds scene without a break in the continuous sculptured chronicle. It is evident that the desire of the artist and his employer is merely to record facts, not to translate the impression they give into sculptured form. The technical skill with which everything is rendered is due to the influence of Greece ; but the selection—or rather want of selection—of the subjects, and the way in which scene after scene, objects possible and impossible to represent, follow one another on the long winding band of relief, remind us of the reliefs of Egyptian tombs or Assyrian palaces rather than of the compositions of a Greek artist. We saw the essential distinction in this matter between Greek sculpture and what had preceded it. In Rome, again, we find the same conditions and requirements leading to a similar result as soon as the controlling genius of Greece ceased to guide the hand of the artist.

There is a continuous development in style to be seen in the historical reliefs of Rome. In the time of Augustus they are of a more conventional and dignified character. We have already noticed the variety and vigour that mark the monuments of Trajan. After the Antonine age we can see a rapid decline, until the sense for sculptural composition and execution is almost entirely lost. The contrast is clearest on the arch of Constantine, where the pieces of sculpture taken from the demolished arch of Trajan stand out in marked superiority to the scenes added at the time when the arch was built. The wearisome iteration of type and gesture, and the absence of life or reality in the figures make one realise that the power of classical sculpture had passed away, and that its lifeless forms alone remained to offer material for the new inspiration of Byzantine and Mediaeval art.

§ 82. *Antonine and the Hadrianic Revival.*—The gradual and steady decadence of ancient art was relieved by a brief revival, due chiefly to the personal influence of the Emperor Hadrian. He not only travelled throughout the civilised world, and made his visits the occasion for erecting the most sumptuous buildings and monuments, but showed a real devotion to art, and did his utmost to encourage its practice. It is true that a considerable proportion of the sculpture set up during his reign consisted of statues of the emperor himself ; but we may quote as a specimen of his munificence the temple of the Olympian Zeus at Athens, which he not only completed after it had

remained unfinished since the time of Pisistratus, but provided with a colossal gold and ivory statue, which must have rivalled in its cost the great chryselephantine works of the fifth century. Of course he could not make a new Phidias arise at his bidding; but his encouragement appears to have really raised the tone



FIG. 130.—Relief; portrait of Antinous (Rome, Villa Albani).

of sculpture. To his period we owe many of the finest copies of Greek masterpieces that exist, and also many original works which, if slighter and more fanciful in their subjects, are not devoid of artistic skill and merit.

Examples of this class are the Centaurs, one fettered by a Cupid, another snapping his fingers at the little god, made by Aristetas and Papias of Aphrodisias.¹ The theme, indeed, is not

¹ See Baumeister, fig. 132.

a new one, and is probably imitated more or less closely from originals of the Hellenistic age. But the execution in hard black marble shows high technical skill, and the figures are full of life and humour. The statues were set up in the emperor's villa at Tivoli, which has been the richest of mines for the recovery of the treasures of ancient art accumulated there by the emperor.

There is another figure, beside that of the emperor himself, which exercises an influence on the art of the time similar in nature and in degree to that of Alexander upon his own age. Antinous was a Bithynian youth, famous for his beauty, and was a favourite of the emperor. It is said that while Hadrian was travelling in Egypt some mystic rite required the sacrifice of a life on the emperor's behalf, and Antinous voluntarily offered himself as the victim, and drowned himself in the Nile. Hadrian, in his grief for his loss and appreciation of the devotion of Antinous, ordered that divine honours should be paid to him. Statues were set up in his honour throughout the empire, and his features influenced contemporary sculpture so strongly, that many works have been called Antinous from their resemblance to him, though there is no direct intention to represent him on the part of the sculptor. A relief in the Villa Albani (Fig. 130) is among the finest of the portraits of Antinous. It shows him to have possessed features of great beauty and regularity, though of a somewhat heavy type. The same heaviness, almost clumsiness, of proportions may be seen in the limbs and body, which are, however, well formed and symmetrical. The expression is melancholy, almost morose in character; but we can readily believe that the man to whom it belonged was capable of true, if fanatical, devotion in giving up his life for his friend. The fact that such a type, which has little of intellectual character about it, could influence the whole course of art, suffices to indicate the poverty of ideas and the lack of originality which mark the sculpture of the time, although it still retained a considerable amount of technical skill.

§ 83. *Sarcophagi*.¹—The monuments erected over the dead

¹ The name sarcophagus as applied to a stone coffin is so well established that it is useless to protest against it. Even St. Augustine says that the use of the word had come in at his time. The flesh-eating stone of Assos, λίθος σαρκοφάγος, was not, as far as we know, extensively used for coffins. It is hard to find how the confusion arose.

have furnished us with material for the history of sculpture in every period of Greek art. These, however, are usually erected above the ground, over the spot where the deceased was buried. The practice of decorating with sculpture the actual receptacle in which the body of the deceased was placed is foreign to the Greeks. It was, of course, usual among the Egyptians, who often gave to the stone coffin the form of a house, since it was the dwelling of the dead, and this form survives even in the Roman sarcophagus. We have already noticed how the sarcophagi found at Sidon were made in the form of temples. These sarcophagi from Sidon are also an example of the imitation, common enough in Phœnicia, of the Egyptian custom. Though the art which decorated them is Greek, the burial customs that they represent are foreign to Greece. In Lycia it appears to have been usual to combine the functions of coffin and of monument by erecting the receptacle in which the body was placed upon a lofty pedestal, and giving it an architectural form. We do not find sarcophagi commonly employed in Greece itself until the Hellenistic age. Then they are mere empty monuments, set up over the grave, and their coffin-like shape is purely conventional. Such sarcophagi usually have a distinctly architectural form. The design is often only decorative; when it consists of figures, they are not usually allowed to interfere with the structural lines; and often the subject is subordinated to the decorative effect. Thus groups of children are preferred, because their short and chubby forms adapt themselves easily to the available fields on the sides of the sarcophagus.

The Roman sarcophagus is intended for a different purpose. Like the boxes to hold ashes commonly found in Etruria, they were intended to contain the remains of the deceased, and were buried in a subterranean chamber, usually with one side set against its wall. It was a natural result of this arrangement that only the front and sides of the sarcophagus came to be decorated with sculpture, while the back was left plain. At the same time its architectural design was obscured, and the sculptured scenes covered all the available space, the figures often projecting beyond the limits of the field, and standing out at the corners.

Such sarcophagi were made in enormous numbers after the second century of our era, and afforded the chief scope for such

sculpture as existed outside public monuments. Even now they are counted by the thousand in museums and collections. The subjects are usually mythological, and they offer a whole gallery of illustration for ancient myths.¹ Their artistic value lies mainly in the fact that they repeat conventional notions which are often derived from original Greek treatments of the same themes. Sometimes the subjects are appropriate to the tomb, as when we find scenes symbolical of the course of human life, or myths, like that of Prometheus or of Cupid and Psyche, which are connected with the origin and destiny of humanity, and a belief in the immortality of the soul. But almost all classes of myth are represented, including even such as seem to us offensive to nature and to morality. It is not probable that in these cases we have to look for any occult or mystic significance to justify the selection; but when once the custom of carving mythological scenes upon sarcophagi had become prevalent, the whole stock of mythical types was open to the choice of the sculptor, and the less refined of his patrons probably looked no farther if they got something showy for their money.

The execution of the Roman sarcophagi varies from a fairly high level of excellence to the rudest and most careless workmanship. But their value for the history of art lies mainly in the fact that they preserve much of what would otherwise have been entirely lost to us; and that they were instrumental in transmitting to the Italian sculptors of the Renaissance some faint reflection of the art of Greece.

§ 84. *Summary.*—The story of the decadence of Greek art under Roman patronage forms but a sorry sequel to the tale of its origin and development; yet it is a necessary part of our study, partly for the sake of the warnings which it offers, partly because we should hardly be in a position without it to estimate the true value of the contents of our museums. We have but few originals of Greek workmanship, and consequently we are dependent to a great extent upon copies or imitations made for the Roman market. When we realise the conditions under which those copies were made, we are better able to appreciate their relation to their originals, to eliminate what the copyist has himself contributed to the work, and so to

¹ For illustrations of sarcophagi, see Robert, *Die antike Sarcophagreliefs*. See also Baumeister, *passim*, in illustration of various myths.

carry back our imagination to the originals themselves. This is the most difficult, as it is the most fascinating branch of the study of sculpture. No better training for the eye and for the mind can be thought of ; but the greatest care and circumspection must be used in its pursuit. Above all, no conclusion attained by this method can be made the basis for further inference until it has been subjected to the most searching tests.

The archaistic and conventional character of all the work of this period that is not crudely realistic or historical shows how completely the originality of Greek art had become extinct. The limits of our subject have compelled us to notice only the decline and final extinction of sculpture. There is no need to recapitulate its phases, as they have been traced in the various sections of this chapter. The rise of Byzantine art in the East was precluded by the tenets of the Greek Church from a renewal of religious sculpture ; and so it was reserved for Italy to renew with a fresh inspiration the art which her patronage had previously destroyed. It was reserved for the Tuscan sculptors to break the repose of ten centuries ; and even in the last degradation of the sculpture of Greece they could find material aid, such as the early sculptors of Greece had themselves borrowed from the decadence of their predecessors.

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